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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1852.

Art. I. — PALFREY'S ACADEMICAL LECTURES.*

Nothing could be more characteristic of Dr. Palfrey than the motto with which he closes the Preface to his last two volumes: —

> "Before thy sacred altar, heavenly Truth!
> I bow in age, as erst I bowed in youth.
> Still let me bow, till this weak frame decay,
> And my last hour be lighted by thy ray!"

It falls not within our scope to take cognizance of the department of life in which his name has of late been so prominently before the public. We would only suggest, that in our own times no traits are so sure to render a politician impracticable and unavailable as entire self-consistency and rigid uprightness; and that an office-holder or a candidate for the votes of the people is never so likely to be misapprehended, or utterly non-apprehended, as when under the impulse of but a single motive force, and that force an honest, strenuous sense of duty. As a preacher, pastor, and theological professor,

* *Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities.* By John Gorham Palfrey. 4 Vols. Boston. Vols. I. and II., James Munroe and Company. Vols. III. and IV., Crosby, Nichols, and Company. Vol. I., 1838. Vol. II., 1840. Vols. III. and IV., 1852. 8vo. pp. xx., 511; xix., 435; xxxi., 503; xiii., 500.

no man can have won a higher place in the regard, or a more cherished home in the affections, of parishioners and pupils, than Dr. Palfrey still holds with very many, who can never forget or adequately acknowledge their obligations to him, both for his fidelity to them personally and for his example of conscientious living. Less than this we cannot say, much more than this we would gladly say, as we apply ourselves to the respectful and kindly, though not wholly approving, criticism of the volumes before us.

We would remark, in the first place, that it is hardly possible that within equal space there should be collected more manifest marks and more copious fruits of careful research, thorough scholarship, and ingenious criticism. Original authorities, when accessible, have always been consulted; and when they were beyond reach, recourse has been had to the fountains of information nearest the source. The materials for the history of the Hebrew canon and for the external history of the several canonical and apocryphal books are presented, in a closely condensed form indeed, but with an accuracy and completeness seldom approached, and never surpassed. The estimation in which the Lectures themselves are held must of course depend in a great measure on the reader's reception or rejection of the author's theory. But, independently of these, the finely printed foot-notes comprise a large and valuable amount of textual criticism, covering for the more important books all the difficult or disputed passages, and often opening a new and self-approving significance, where no light is cast by any English or American commentator. Indeed, there is in the English language no commentary on the Old Testament which we regard as proffering to the common reader so much exegetical aid as is afforded by these volumes for the interpretation of the Pentateuch, most of the historical, and some of the prophetical books.

We regard it as a crowning merit of these Lectures, that they never suppress facts, or garble authorities, in order to sustain a preconceived theory. In this regard they stand in advantageous contrast to most German works of the rationalistic school, the authors of which cull their facts and pack their witnesses with careful reference to their theories, and therefore fall far short of

furnishing the requisite materials for the candid judgment of their several hypotheses. Dr. Palfrey meets with honest front, though not always, as we think, with successful antagonism, all the objections to his views of the Old Testament, and thus, if he is wrong, furnishes with the most liberal hand the materials for his own refutation. Truth is evidently the last thing that he fears. Yet we think that we can trace in his mind one characteristic which is adapted to render his labors more valuable in detail than in their results. Some minds (and especially those which are purely æsthetic, and which have little regard for truth for its own sake) are endowed with an exemplary patience and forbearance, and reach their conclusions only after elaborate investigation and reflection. Others (often from their intense longing for the truth) cry Εὕρηκα too soon, leap at their conclusions before they have made a thorough survey of the field of research, and adopt them too heartily to discern adequate reasons for reversing or modifying them. This we think somewhat the case with our author. Fervently devout, deeply solicitous to feel, as well as to believe, all divine verities, he incorporates into his spiritual nature his theoretical conclusions, and subsequently finds himself unable so to detach them, and to regard them objectively, as to submit them to a just reconsideration.

As regards the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, we cannot coincide with Dr. Palfrey's view. He represents the canon as unsettled and fluctuating, and rightly if we consider all contemporary authorities as of equal weight. Certain it is, that, if the Alexandrine and Christian lists and statements be deemed of no less validity than the Hebrew, we must doubt the genuineness and the anciently reputed sacredness of a large portion of the Jewish Scriptures. But there is abundant reason to set aside Alexandrine and Christian authorities on this point. The Septuagint was probably compiled less as a collection of standard religious books, than as an anthology of Hebrew literature. In this latter aspect it was currently regarded by all except Jews; and we have no proof that even the Hellenistic Jews ever looked upon this version with special interest or reverence. Its contents were therefore liable to vary with the convenience and taste of copyists and their employers. It was in

this form chiefly that the Old Testament was known to the early Christians, who were for the most part ignorant of the language, and sceptical of the authority, of the nation which had given birth to the Founder of their religion, only to harass, reject, and crucify him. On the other hand, if we trace back the canon through strictly Hebrew sources, we find no essential discrepancy as to its contents; but have ample reason to believe that the Old Testament substantially as we have it has occupied the same place in the faith and reverence of the whole Hebrew nation which it does now. To be sure, the Jews themselves divided these books into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa; but this division had reference to the kind of books rather than to their relative degrees of sacredness. The Prophets were at our Saviour's time read concurrently with the Law in the synagogue service, and the very name attached to this division sufficiently indicates that it was regarded as an essential part of the records of Divine revelation. The language of Josephus is very explicit as to the distinction between these thirty-nine books (or twenty-two, as they are according to the Hebrew arrangement) and other Jewish writings: — "From Artaxerxes down to our time every thing has been recorded. But these records are not accounted worthy of equal credit with those before them, because the succession of the prophets has not been exact. And it is plain in our conduct what credit we have given to our Scriptures. For, though so long a time has passed, *no one has ventured to add any thing to them, nor take away from them, nor alter them.* But it is innate with the Jews from their very birth, to esteem them directions of God, and adhere to them, and even cheerfully to die for them, if need should be."

Now, with regard to writings of such remote antiquity, it is impossible that we should have the same kind of testimony to the circumstances of their authorship which we can adduce for books of more recent origin. But we can conceive of no higher attestation than that of the unanimous reception, faith, and reverence of an entire nation. There must have been a time when each of these books assumed its sacred character. If any one of them was ever regarded in a different light, we cannot imagine the conjuncture of circumstances under which

its fixed character should have been changed, and a book which was deemed to possess neither sacredness nor authority should have been exalted to a place by the side of the Pentateuch. Such a transfer could not have been made without opposition or remonstrance, and this opposition or remonstrance must needs have been so prolonged and perpetuated as to have left some traces of itself in the record of Jewish opinions. In urging this argument, we by no means contend that each of these books must have been regarded as flowing from the direct inspiration of God, in order to have taken its place in the canon. But they must all have been regarded as religious books, written with a religious purpose, by men who had claims upon the confidence of the nation as authentic historians of the theocracy, or as expositors of the Divine will and law. We are aware that the Canticles present a strong *primâ facie* objection to this reasoning, and, we contend, the only one. Of this strange book we hardly know what to say. We regard it as worse than worthless, nor are we fully satisfied with any mode of accounting for its place in the canon. But the fact of its being there disposes us strongly to believe that it may have been written with a religious purpose; that it may have been an allegory composed by Solomon, or by some one who, like him, had a far better appreciation of the coarse and voluptuous imagery which he employed, than of the sacred truths obscured and disfigured by the thick drapery of sensuality; and that the offensive spiritual interpretations of orthodox commentators may therefore have more of truth in them, than the views of those who interpret it as a mere love-song. Yet, if this supposition be entitled to no credit, still the surprising fact that one such fragmentary book should have somehow crept into the canon detracts little from the improbability that any number of these books should have ever come to be regarded in a different aspect from that in which they were received when they first gained currency.

A similar consideration applies to all the theories which represent large portions of the prophetical books as having emanated from different authors than those whose names they bear. Undoubtedly there were interpolations; for the careful separation between editorial annotations and the main body of a work is of com-

paratively recent origin, and many marginal interpretations and additions were, no doubt, introduced into the text by subsequent transcribers. But, in order for two writings by two separate authors to have been transcribed as a single writing by one author, there must have been a belief in the identity of authorship, — a belief which could hardly have sprung up at any time after the two had been known as separate compositions. In some instances, as in that of Isaiah, a strong case is indeed made from the different style of different portions. Yet does not the style of the same writer vary greatly from youth to age? But the book of Isaiah (as well as those of the prophets generally) purports to contain all the writings of the prophet through a long series of years; and on the very grounds on which portions of Isaiah are supposed to have proceeded from another hand, we might deny that the earlier and the later poems of Southey or Wordsworth were works of the same author.

It is by substantially such arguments as these that Dr. Palfrey demonstrates (and demonstration hardly seems to us too strong a word) the genuineness of the Pentateuch as written by Moses, and its virtual integrity. He shows how entirely impossible it was, at any stage of the national history, that surreptitious works, or works of doubtful authority, should have been foisted upon the confidence of the whole Hebrew nation, without leaving any traces of their doubtful reception by any tribe, sect, party, or individual. This consideration is greatly confirmed by the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch; which carries back the date, not alone of the composition, but of the universally admitted authority of these books, to the age of Solomon, prior to which there can have been but few books, and those few could hardly have been destitute of a known history. The internal arguments for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch are also numerous and strong. So far as we can judge of Hebrew style, these books bear marks of the highest antiquity, abounding as they do in words and grammatical forms, which had fallen out of use before the days of the prophets. Second only, if second, to this consideration is what we might term the *journalistic* style of the Pentateuch. Many transactions are recorded, just as they

would have been written down while they were in progress, and as they hardly could have been committed to writing at any subsequent period. Thus, for instance, we have many of the details of the structure and furnishing of the tabernacle described three times; first, in the Divine commands as given to Moses, then in the same commands as communicated to the people, and finally in the narrative of the work as it was wrought, in which last form alone is it conceivable that any writer subsequent to Moses would have put these details on record.

Dr. Palfrey's theory as to the purpose with which Genesis was written is, we believe, original with him, is preëminently satisfactory, and invests the book with a greater interest and higher value than can be assigned to it on any other hypothesis. He regards it not as a designed compend of the ante-Mosaic history of the world, (in which aspect it is disproportioned and fragmentary,) but rather as an historical commentary on the Levitical law. He supposes, with Eichhorn, that the book was made up, chiefly or wholly, from preëxisting documents, and contains frequently parallel and slightly discrepant accounts of the same events. These narratives Moses would have collated, sifted, and harmonized, so as to furnish only the most consistent and probable statement of facts in each instance, had he merely intended to write history. But if it had been his purpose to collect such excerpts from preëxisting traditions, oral or written, as might illustrate the importance, vindicate the justice, or confirm the authority of the ceremonial and the moral law, this end might have been answered by placing side by side narratives in the main coincident, but in part conflicting, and showing how the same lesson of expediency, truth, or duty was suggested by different versions of the story.

In this view, we can easily see that Genesis must have had a most important agency in maintaining the loyalty of the Hebrews to the law promulgated by Divine authority. It was a perpetual prophylactic against idolatry and defection. It gave in the most minute detail the very facts, ignorance concerning which had been the source of the various forms of religious superstition and moral corruption among surrounding nations. We have

space to illustrate this point with respect only to the fundamental article of religious faith, — the Divine unity. Had Moses been writing for a people who were in no danger of lapsing into false worship, we can conceive that he would have despatched the history of creation in that sublime opening sentence, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." But it was of prime moment that he should exclude from the range of possible hypothesis the several existing forms of idolatry. He therefore enumerates, not all classes of created objects, but the very objects which were deified in the earlier ages. He speaks of God as the creator of light and the heavenly bodies, — the first created things that arrested human homage on its way to the throne of the Omnipotent. The Egyptians worshipped various plants and animals, — leeks, birds, reptiles, crocodiles, — together with the great fertilizing agent, the Nile. Therefore Moses represented God as separating the waters from the dry land, as bringing vegetation from the bosom of the earth, and breathing life into the various tribes of animated nature. The next objects of worship, in the order of time and of probability, were the inventors of the arts that enriched, adorned, and ennobled human life. Care is therefore taken to enumerate this description of persons; and a still further caveat against their apotheosis was furnished in the fact, that most of them were of the posterity of the first murderer. Truth indeed compelled him to ascribe the original planting of the vine and manufacture of its intoxicating juice to one of the patriarchs; but his deification on that score was effectually precluded by the disgusting recital of his consequent inebriation. With a similar view, no doubt, are the genealogical details in this book given with such painstaking minuteness, so as to prevent any ancestor of any race of men from being deemed autochthonous, and revered as of celestial origin or of divine attributes.

With regard to some of the particular criticisms on the later books of the Pentateuch, we might, did our limits permit, join issue with Dr. Palfrey. But in the main, we not only admire the industry and thoroughness of his work, but assent to his conclusions. He beholds in the mission of Moses the promulgation of a religious and political system, derived from immediate revelation, not

only in its fundamental conceptions, but in the details of its ritual and regimen. Nor can the most minute provisions seem unworthy to be regarded in this light, when we take into consideration the ignorant infancy of the race, the extreme rudeness, barbarism, and degradation of the chosen people, debased by centuries of bondage, and the intense necessity of creating as many barriers as possible between them and the nations with which they might be placed in proximity. The distinctions of dress and food, the prescription of the materials of sacrifice and the forms of worship, the minute directions as to many seemingly indifferent points of domestic arrangement and mutual intercourse, all may have been in this regard of vital importance; and the reasons for many of them have been disinterred by Spencer, Michaelis, and other Biblical critics of modern times.

Dr. Palfrey regards the Pentateuch alone, of all the books of the Old Testament, as containing the records of Divine inspiration, and the miracles alleged to have been wrought in connection with the promulgation of the Law, the Exodus and wanderings of the Israelites and their establishment in Canaan, as alone authentic. The remaining historical books he supposes to have been written in good faith, but so long after the events which they describe, as to have left space for the fading away or the distortion of many essential facts, and for the growth of numerous traditions of a legendary character unworthy of credence in the form in which they have come down to us, and many of them incapable of being resolved into the nucleus of fact around which they had become accreted. He regards the promise of the Messiah as having been made through Abraham and Moses, and inseparably inwrought into the Mosaic revelation. The prophets, according to his theory, were good men, but uninspired teachers of the law, preachers, reformers, zealous religionists, earnest propagandists. They derived the materials of their respective missions from the Divine promises and threatenings to the Hebrews, and the denunciations against idolatry recorded in the Pentateuch. These materials derived the shape in which they appear in the prophetical writings, in part from the growth and modification of opinion in the national mind, and in part from the peculiar genius, culture, and environments of each

individual prophet. Many of them also were the wisest and most far-sighted men of their days, capable therefore of announcing with confidence such coming events as "cast their shadows before."

This theory might be maintained (as it is in our author's own mind), with no detriment to the Divine authority of the Christian revelation. Such speculations (even if ill-sustained) are of value, as relieving Christianity of the *onus* of accountability for all that may be found between the covers of the Old Testament. The Christian evidences are encumbered and embarrassed by their connection with Judaism. The extreme antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures, and their isolated position in ancient literature, render it impossible to demonstrate their genuineness and credibility by the same kind of arguments which determine the authorship and prove the authenticity of the New Testament. Therefore, when the Bible is treated as an indivisible whole, which must stand or fall together, the necessarily lower and more restricted evidence for the Hebrew Scriptures tends to reduce the New Testament to the same standard of credibility, while in fact, on account of its more recent origin and the vast array of extraneous proof, it rests on intrinsically higher and surer grounds.

But the chief difficulty in the way of Dr. Palfrey's theory results from the repeated and emphatic recognition by our Saviour and his Apostles of a divine element and prophetical character, not in the Pentateuch alone, but in the Old Testament generally. This difficulty is not evaded, but is fairly met as regards every instance of quotation from the Old Testament, or reference to it, in the writings of the Evangelists and the Apostles. Sometimes it is alleged, that the Scriptures were spoken of as sacred and authoritative in a loose, colloquial style, on account of the basis of revelation on which they all rested, and the fund of inspired truth from which they drew. Sometimes Jesus, or Paul, or Peter, is represented as reasoning *ex concessis*, — as making admissions for the sake of argument alone. Then, again, many of the citations from the prophets are treated (and rightly), not as dogmatic or divine authorities, but as passages quoted from the classical literature of the nation for the purpose of illustration or rhetorical ornament.

And, finally, some of the prophetic oracles are regarded as pointing to the Messiah and his times, yet as the mere reproduction in altered forms of the germinal and constantly germinating conception of that personage, planted in the Pentateuch. Now the argument against these modes of treating references to the Old Testament in the New, is feeble and inappreciable in any one instance, but is rapidly cumulative with the multiplication of instances. That, with reference to books of so high antiquity and such various merits, even an infallible teacher should now and then have spoken in hyperbole; or that literary quotation should sometimes be so formal and solemn, as on its face to imply the peculiar sacredness of its source; or that the authority which is once or twice seemingly ascribed to a prophet was in fact ascribed not to him, but to a much earlier writer, with the spirit of whose works he had become penetrated, — all this is highly probable. But it is in the utmost degree improbable, that instances of this kind should occur on almost every page of a series of books, without a single instance in which the writers express or indicate their own actual opinions. Now, Dr. Palfrey's error, as we think, is in not estimating the cumulative force of the evidence on the subject under discussion. He takes up each separate stick in the fagot, and finds that it may be easily broken; but were he to try his strength on the whole bundle, we cannot doubt that he would desist self-refuted.

Were there insuperable objections to any theory involving the inspiration of the prophets and the distinctively Divine element in Jewish history, our only resource would be to regard just views of the Jewish Scriptures as having formed in the Divine purpose no part of the Christian revelation. On this ground we might accept the teachings of the New Testament as to life, duty, and eternity, and at the same time regard the opinions of its writers and their Divine Master, with reference to the books of the ancient covenant, as unauthorized by God, yet cleaving to them from the prejudices of education. We confess that it would greatly disturb our reverence to be compelled to take this alternative, for we love to look to Jesus as no less infallible than immaculate; and were he capable of mistake even on matters not directly

concerning us or his mission, it would be the less easy to lean upon him in implicit, self-surrendering faith. But it does concern us to know the true character of the Old Testament; for there must be filaments of unity pervading all divine revelations, and the less perfect may help us in the interpretation of the more perfect, by enabling us to trace the "grace and truth" incarnated in Jesus through the earlier stages of their development. We therefore not only dissent from Dr. Palfrey's view of the later Hebrew Scriptures, but cannot help feeling, also, that by this view Christianity is bereft of some of the best helps for its exposition, as well as of an important class of its evidences. But we most of all deprecate this view, because we believe that it can satisfy very few minds. Dr. Palfrey's interpretations of some of the more important references in the New Testament to the Old, seem to us so unnatural and improbable, that we can hardly anticipate their general reception; and the way may therefore have been prepared for some of his readers to take lower views of the infallibility of Jesus, and the reliableness of the Christian Scriptures, than those which are presented in these volumes, and are constantly maintained by their author.

In our apprehension, the inspiration of the prophets has a strong antecedent probability in its favor. The doctrine of immortality formed no part of the Mosaic revelation. The chief hold which the moral precepts and religious dogmas of the Pentateuch retained upon the Hebrew mind was through the complicated and imposing ritual service. In seasons of national declension and misfortune this service was impaired or suspended; and with its partial or entire disuse, the faith which it embodied and symbolized seems to have faded from the popular mind, and to have demanded for its restoration the Divine interposition, in ways not dissimilar to those in which it was at first established. The "digni vindice nodi" were thus frequently recurring; and it was at precisely these exigencies that the prophets made their appearance and uttered their alleged messages from Jehovah. Moreover, it cannot be doubted that the prophets were honest men. Their sublime devotion, their indomitable heroism, their unshrinking self-sacrifice, their fulness of the martyr spirit, are utterly incon-

sistent with the hypothesis that they resorted to pious fraud to win a hearing. But they speak in the name of Jehovah. They profess to receive in visions and revelations from Heaven the commands, promises, and denunciations which form the burden of their writings. They utter many predictions which were not expressed or implied in the Pentateuch, — many things, for which, if they had any authority, it must have been derived from direct inspiration. Unless they believed that they enjoyed immediate communication with the Most High, it was a breach of common honesty for them constantly to have spoken and written in his name. Were they deluded by their own enthusiasm? This seems hardly possible, when we consider that they were, most of them, not recluses, but active men, constantly before the people, confronting kings and popular assemblies, and often wielding an influence over the great heart of the nation, which in ages of scepticism could hardly have been conceded to fanatical day-dreamers or men of unsound intellect. That the Divine communications were given in precisely the form in which they have been transmitted to us, we by no means contend. The prophets undoubtedly clothed their messages in their own peculiar style, grouped around them such imagery as was adapted to give them the greater impressiveness for the time being, blended with them the circumstances under which they were given, and their own concurrent reflections and imaginings, and often selected for them such symbolical forms of communication as were adapted to the rude habits of their age, rather than to the ideas of congruity and adequacy which belong to a period of higher culture. We thus "have the treasure in earthen vessels," — a large commingling of the human element with the divine.

Our views of the inspiration of the prophets are confirmed by the undoubted fulfilment of many of their predictions. We cannot help tracing many and striking coincidences between their representations of the Messiah and his times, and the history of our Saviour and his religion. Beneath the gorgeous Orientalism of their prophecies there are traits of the Gospel dispensation and its Author, which indicate a clearer and more adequate conception of the glorious future than could

have been derived from the Pentateuch, or could have grown up in their own minds without inspiration from Heaven. Then, again, as to the fortunes of their own nation, of Babylon, Tyre, Sidon, and Idumæa and other surrounding states, their predictions in numerous instances present too close an accordance with subsequent history to have been the result of fortuitous conjecture, or even of the profoundest wisdom and the keenest foresight.

Similar considerations apply to the miracles recorded in the later books of the Old Testament. Miracles are, indeed, said to have been wrought on some occasions, on which the Divine interposition seems improbable. Nor do we deem it an untenable supposition, that some legendary matter of this sort may have become incorporated with authentic history. But this is rendered probable only on the supposition that actual miracle entered largely into the fortunes of the Hebrew commonwealth. The counterfeit implies the existence and currency of the genuine coin. There is no surer testimony to the reasonableness and reality of supernatural phenomena, than the tendency to exalt ordinary occurrences into supernatural. But it may be that in cases of this sort we know only a part of the attending circumstances, which, if we knew them in full, would attach strong credibility to the very miracles to which we give the most reluctant credence. Or it may well be that our race in its infancy needed Divine interpositions, which, because they were needful, were worthy of infinite wisdom, though in our more advanced stage of culture they seem superfluous; and if so, it is only a mark of authenticity that the miraculous narratives of the Old Testament should seem adapted to the then current age, and not to the taste and judgment of long subsequent generations. Is it alleged that in some cases the recorded miracles and their occasions are so fully described, as to show them to have been of the most trivial character, and thus utterly to exclude the possibility of the special agency of Jehovah? Here the only question is, Were these occasions and events trivial to the persons concerned in them? Newton, had he been teaching an infant, would not have read to the child passages from his Principia; but would have written letters on blocks and cards, have connected the first lessons of philosophy

with toys and games, and have risen to more manly vehicles of communication only as the child advanced towards man's estate. That during the age-long childhood of the human family God is represented in the Old Testament as having dealt with men as with children, is one of the strongest considerations which conciliate our faith for its records. Whatever could restrain, guide, refine, and exalt the intellect of man in the earlier stages of its growth, — whatever could insinuate religious conceptions among the coarsenesses and pettinesses of those rude times, — has the strongest intrinsic probability in its favor.

But there are many of the miraculous narratives of the later Hebrew Scriptures, which chime in full harmony with our loftiest views of the Divine attributes and government, and are their own best evidence. The supernatural events which they describe are such works as constrain belief from their majestic simplicity, from the momentousness of the occasions on which they were wrought, and from their adaptation to produce vast results on the belief and conduct of nations. Take, for instance, Elijah's sacrifice upon Mount Carmel. Were we to encounter that story in any ancient book, it seems to us that we could hardly help believing it, so utterly impossible does it appear that a puerile fancy should have drawn such sublime figures on so vast a canvas. How grand the form, how full of divine inspiration the features, of that noble old prophet, standing forth alone before that idolatrous nation! There are the eight hundred and fifty priests of Baal, and the groves. There are king and people, all arrayed on their side. They are assembled on the craggy summit and brow of Carmel, towering over its background of rough, lofty hills, projecting far out into the deep, and bathing its foot in the waters of the Great Sea. Elijah stands alone, calm, self-collected, lofty, a not unmeet impersonation of the law uttered amid the thunderings and fearful voices of Sinai. He leaves the chattering multitude to mutter, shout, and shriek their prayers to the senseless idol. From morning to midday, from midday till the time of evening sacrifice, he waits for them to desist from the vain endeavor to awaken their gods. He then builds his altar, makes ready the sacrifice, and, that the miracle may appear be-

yond a question, drenches it with water from the mountain brook. Then goes up his simple prayer of faith, no far-sought form, no labored invocation, but the appeal as of one who lived near heaven and knew who answered prayer. And, as the fire of God falls upon the thrice-drenched altar, the hearts of the people are turned back from idol worship; and, as the multitudinous shout of Jehovah's praise goes forth from that bold, far-looking promontory, we seem to hear it echoed from the environing mountains and the distant waters: "The sea is his, and he made it; the strength of the hills is his also."

Similar in grandeur, and in every element that seems to warrant and confirm the Divine interposition, is that scene on the plain of Dura, where the three children of the captivity, failing to bow before the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar, are cast into the furnace seven times heated, and there walks with them in the flames a god-like form, the symbol and pledge of the Divine interposition, to own and reward their loyalty. This miracle is certainly alleged to have been wrought at a crisis of intense need, and to have been attended by results of adequate importance. Whether it turned the tide of Babylonish idolatry for more than the briefest period, we cannot, indeed, say. But it was adapted to sustain the faith and elevate the hope of the captive Hebrews. Its memory must have lingered in their hearts through the years of their exile, and have given them courage to "sing the Lord's song in a strange land." It must have entered (how largely none can tell) into the elements of belief and sentiment which saved the nation from subsequent apostasy, inspired the heroism and sustained the fortitude of the Maccabees and their associates, and preserved the worship of the one God among a nation everywhere scattered abroad, till their dispersion among the Gentiles became the means of diffusing a religion designed for all men, and destined to outlive the ages of human history.

We might, had we space, specify many other narratives, which in like manner vindicate their own authenticity, and strongly enlist the religious sentiment in favor of their literal truth.

We have indicated important points, on which Dr. Palfrey's book has found us dissentients, and left us un-

convinced. But, independently of these mooted questions, and for those who agree the least with him in his answers to them, this work has a value, which will be only the more appreciated by use and with the lapse of time. We have been especially interested in the lecture on the Book of Job. We have long supposed it the oldest book in the canon, and written before the establishment of the Levitical worship, to which it makes not a single reference; and we are glad to have our opinion confirmed from so reliable a source. Dr. Palfrey believes it to have been the work of Moses; and, unwilling to close our article without a single extract, we quote entire the argument for its antiquity and its probable authorship.

"The book does not declare who was its author, nor have we any credible historical information on that point. He must have been a person to whom the Hebrew tongue was vernacular, for the purity, copiousness, and elegance of his Hebrew style — and that, too, the Hebrew style of poetry — absolutely repel the supposition that the work was a translation from any other language.

"The time when he wrote is the next question that occurs. It seems to me that the opinion of those critics has no small probability, who regard the book as the oldest in the Biblical collection, and accordingly, as far as we know, the most ancient book in existence.

"In favor of a modern origin, two arguments have been presented. Some supposed Chaldee forms of language have been referred to, as indicating a date for the composition as late as the time when the Jews came into political relations with Babylon; but I believe no *Chaldaisms* have been pointed out which are not equally well accounted for as *Arabisms*, which latter forms of speech betoken a very early, instead of a modern, origin.

"And a similar argument has been drawn from the mention of *Satan* in the introduction, erroneously supposed to be that great Evil Spirit of whom the Jews knew nothing till, at the time of the captivity, they adopted some superstitions of the Chaldeans. Such an inference rests on a mere confusion of ideas, growing out of an accidental similarity of terms. The *Satan* of the first two chapters of Job is by no means the *Ahriman*, the Prince of Darkness, the Devil, the Satan, of the Oriental mythology, afterwards transferred to the mythology of the Jews, and from them to that of the Christians. Job's Satan is a 'sociable spirit,' one of 'the sons of God,' who on a day of high ceremony comes to present himself among his associate splendors 'before the Lord,' and

with whom the Lord holds gracious discourse. *Satan* was not originally a proper name. It only became so by a particular appropriation to a new idea of foreign origin, just as the Hebrew was going out of use as a spoken language. Satan is a generic word, signifying *an adversary*, and repeatedly rendered by that English word in the common version of the Old Testament; and the 'son of God' spoken of in the passage in question is called a *Satan*, simply in his character of *the adversary* of Job.

"The writer, whoever he was, was well acquainted with the scenery and natural objects of Arabia and Egypt, for these furnish the *commonplaces* of his poetical imagery. He appears also to have at least heard of the river Jordan; but there is no such reference to the geography or natural history of Palestine as would indicate him to have been an inhabitant, or even a visitor, of that country.

"One fact, taken in connection with those which have been mentioned, is very remarkable. While the purity and freedom of the language and style incontestably prove the work to have been the composition of a native Hebrew, and no translation from a foreign original, there is no other indication from beginning to end of its having been written by a Jew. It is stamped with none of those peculiarities of the Jewish mind which were formed by the Law of Moses. It contains no reference to the Jewish ritual or history. It alludes to no king, no priests, no tabernacle, no temple. The all-pervading Jewish idea of the *royalty* of God is never presented. It is not enough to say, in answer to this remark, that the scene is laid, not in Judea, but in a foreign country. We seem to know enough of Jewish habits of thought, to make it matter of surprise that no traces of them should appear in a long and sustained composition like this, from a Hebrew source.

"At what time could a Jew have lived, writing his mother tongue in perfect purity, and with extraordinary force, and yet capable of writing as if absolutely ignorant of the national ritual and history? I think, only before a Jewish Law and a Jewish nation existed. And in accordance with this theory of the high antiquity of the book is the fact, that, while the Hebrew language changed but little during the ten centuries over which the Old Testament collection extends, we seem to find indications of its most ancient form in the phraseology of this composition. It is observed that several expressions occur in it, which are scarcely or never to be found elsewhere, except in the Pentateuch; that, on the other hand, forms of speech, found in the later books, but not in the Pentateuch, are rarely or never found in the Book of Job; and that, finally, it has some words peculiar to itself, which appear to have gone into disuse before the later Old Testament books were written.

"In the earliest Jewish mention of the book that has come down to our times, it is ascribed to Moses as its author; and this opinion prevailed with the Greek and Syrian fathers. The opinion of writers in an age so recent, as compared with that of the production of the work, carries with it but little historical authority. And yet, in the absence of better proof, I am strongly inclined to give it attention, and to suppose that Moses wrote the book during his sojourn in Midian, between the time of his flight from Egypt and his summons to return thither for his people's deliverance.

"The facts of the case accord well with that view. In his solitude, and in the mood of mind incident to his circumstances, it was natural that the great problem discussed in the Book of Job should present itself to his thoughts, while, as yet unenlightened by any revelation, he possessed no advantages for its solution, beyond other men. His place of exile was near the country of Idumæa, where the scene of the Book of Job is placed. He was living in the midst of Arabian scenery and manners; and he had lived, till he was forty years of age, in the midst of those of Egypt; to both of which the book abundantly refers. Respecting Palestine, where Moses had never been, it is silent, except that it once refers to one great feature of the geography of that country, the river Jordan, an object so considerable in connection with the former abode of his fathers, that Moses could not be supposed to be uninformed of it. The word *Jehovah*, the proper name of the Supreme Being, occurs repeatedly in the prose parts, and once, perhaps, in the poetry. Moses was acquainted with the name, for it had been known to his ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but it is to be presumed that it would not be in so familiar and constant use with him as with a writer subsequent to the period when Jehovah, under that name, gave the people a law, and adopted them for his own. And supposing the book to have been a production, antecedently to the Law, of the great lawgiver, Moses, we have an explanation of the fact, otherwise extremely perplexing, that a work, having nothing whatever to do with Jewish religion, politics, morals, history, manners, or any other national interest or subject, should have been adopted with such a welcome, preserved with such care, and regarded with such veneration, by that people. A work attributed to the great founder and lawgiver would have peculiar claims to estimation and reverence.

"If to this opinion the objection occurs, that, had the work proceeded from Moses, it might have been expected that a uniform Jewish tradition would have placed that fact beyond doubt, it is to be remembered, on the other hand, that, in the early times, at least, the Jews were not readers, and that this book, considering

its subject, was very likely to be preserved only in the hands of the curious and learned; that the other writings of Moses were mainly important to his countrymen, and maintained their free circulation among them, as memorials of history and documents of law, while the Book of Job, being neither the one nor the other, might be left comparatively out of view; and that it may even have suffered a degree of neglect from being regarded as at most only a vague speculation of the great legislator while as yet in a semi-heathen state.

"If we could know that Moses wrote the book, and that he wrote it under the circumstances at which I have hinted, we should have further light upon its design. He was in Midian as an exile from Egypt, where he had left his wretched countrymen oppressed by cruel taskmasters. The once brilliant fortunes of his race were changed for degradation and despair. The hand of sorrow, and, as it seemed, the avenging hand of God, was heavy upon them. Why was it thus with them? What had they done to merit such a visitation? To his patriotic feelings, made more tender by absence from his fellow-sufferers, and by compassion for their lot, it seemed that they had not provoked, by any gross ill-desert, such a grievous chastisement from God. Why, then, had it been permitted to come upon them? How was it consistent with God's righteousness, that he should so severely afflict the innocent?

"This is the problem with which the mind of Moses, under the circumstances related in the history, must be supposed to have been exercised in the solitude of his sojourn near to the land of Uz. And this is the problem — stated, it is true, with reference to an individual, and not to a nation, but in its principles the same — which is discussed in the Book of Job. It is altogether consonant with probability, that Moses, musing on this subject under the circumstances described, should throw his thoughts into this form, and that, in that concluding discourse of Jehovah, in which are exposed the folly and rashness of presuming to question or to explain his proceedings, it was the purpose of Moses to quiet the discontents of his countrymen, — those chosen of Jehovah, whom Jehovah seemed now to have cast off, — by enforcing on them a lesson of unmurmuring submission to the Divine will, and quickening the hope of a future exaltation, through the restored favor of God, to a prosperity even greater than the past." — Vol. IV. pp. 246–252.

The lectures on the Psalms also will be found rich in materials for their history, their classification, their criticism as poems, and their interpretation as devotional compositions. We would also commend the lectures

on the Apocrypha, as containing in a succinct form much valuable information, which lies wholly out of the reach of the non-professional reader, and indeed could be furnished by few private theological libraries. But there is no need of multiplying specifications of this sort. We can find in the whole work no traces whatever of inadequate research, scanty scholarship, or careless execution. The author always commands our highest respect, and, except where his conclusions are affected by his peculiar theories, our cordial confidence. We give him, on the appearance of these two new volumes, our hearty welcome back to the *curriculum* in which he won his first laurels, — laurels which at least one grateful pupil would fain keep ever green for him, even should he again lose thought of them in the dust and turmoil of forensic strife.

A. P. P.

ART. II. — THE CHRIST OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.*

A CANON is a rule: in ecclesiastical matters, a rule of discipline; in doctrinal matters, a rule of faith. The canon of Scripture is that collection of writings which the Church has decreed to be of authority in all points of belief. A canonical book is one that is included in this collection. An apocryphal book is one that has been excluded from it, and is therefore of no authority in questions of doctrine. That is the whole difference between so-called apocryphal and canonical writings. According to Dr. Hofmann, the term *apocryphal* applies to "all those productions, which by title and contents claim to possess whatever is demanded of canonical writings, but to which the Church, on the ground of doubtful origin or of heterodox opinion, has refused a place in the canon." This definition takes in another point, namely, the reasons which decided whether a book should be an

* *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen.* Von RUDOLPH HOFMANN, Dr. Phil. und Nachmittags Prediger an der Universitätskirche zu Leipzig. 8vo. 1851.

The Life of Jesus according to the Apocrypha. By RUDOLPH HOFMANN, Doctor in Philosophy and Afternoon Preacher at the University Church in Leipzig. 8vo. 1851.

authority in faith or not. These are two: first, its doubtful authorship; second, its heterodox opinions. The historical origin of the New Testament canon is wrapped in obcurity so dense, that little can be said positively respecting the grounds of its compilation. It can be affirmed, however, with some emphasis, that the first class of considerations had no decisive weight. The genuineness of a book did not, in fact, secure for it a place in the authorized canon, nor did its spuriousness deprive it of a place there. The Gospel of the Hebrews put forward a very strong claim to be considered genuine, and was so considered until near the middle of the second century. Yet it gained no admission into the canon, but was expressly declared heretical. On the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the second Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, the Apocalypse, and other books, are found in our collections, though the best scholars have, from the earliest times, inclined to the opinion that they were not the production of those whose names they bear. The genuineness of a writing, therefore, was no sure test of its canonicity; even its reputed genuineness was not. We shall see, by and by, how much weight was attached to the character of its doctrine.

An apocryphal book is one that for any cause whatever has been excluded from that collection of sacred writings which we now possess, under the common name of the New Testament. The number of such was great. Fabricius counted fifty titles, and thinks there might have been forty separate Gospels, some of which had more than one name. Many of these were in substance doctrinal, with one or two historical points casually inserted. Others, with more or less of doctrinal matter, professed to tell the story, or portions of the story of Jesus, in regular narrative order. For the most part these writings exist now in small fragments. But the following Dr. Hofmann mentions as preserved entire. 1. The Protevangelium of James the Less: embracing the time from the announcement of Mary's birth to the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem: in twenty-five chapters. 2. The Gospel of the Holy Mary's Nativity: embracing the period from the announcement of Mary's birth to the birth of Jesus: in ten chapters. 3. The History of Mary's Nativity and of the Saviour's Infancy:

embracing the period from the announcement of Mary's birth to the arrival of the holy family in Egypt: in twenty-four chapters. 4. The History of Joseph the Carpenter: containing the whole biography of Joseph till his death: in thirty-two chapters. 5. The Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour: embracing the time from the birth of Jesus till his visit to the temple at the age of twelve years: in fifty-five chapters. 6. The Gospel of Thomas the Israelite: embracing the period from the fifth to the twelfth year of Jesus's life: in nineteen chapters. Besides these so-called Gospels of the Infancy, Dr. Hofmann has used the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, as edited by Dr. Tischendorf: the Gospel of the Boyhood of Jesus according to Thomas; and a book called the "Suggramma Thomæ," which Tischendorf published in the Wiener Jahrbücher of 1846. Such are the materials for this life of Jesus; materials for the most part fragmentary and loose, not easily compacted or moulded together. And from these, piecing them out as he can, the author attempts to construct something like a consistent narrative. He has done his work well, with ability and learning. His object in writing such a book was, he tells us, to furnish rich materials for dogmatic and antiquarian research; to show the relation of the apocryphal to the canonical Gospels, and their value in illustrating them; and to throw some light upon the circumstances, the mental and moral causes, which gave birth to these productions. This he has done in long notes appended to each section, full of curious information, and, to say the least, very suggestive. A further end Dr. Hofmann seems to have had in view, namely, to contrast the apocryphal and the canonical Gospels. He is persuaded that such a comparison will force upon candid readers the conviction, that so great a difference could exist only between man's work and God's work. He is acquainted with no more excellent way of stimulating thirst for the pure milk of the Gospel, than this of letting men drink to the full such unpalatable waters as these. His study of the apocryphal Gospels, he assures us, has been a long one, and the chief profit from it this: that he has learned to value the true Gospel as his life's dearest treasure, to hold fast by it as the only anchor of faith, and to draw from it as the only fountain of life. This, and much

more in the same strain, we find in the Preface. But even if the author said nothing to this effect, his book would declare some little predispositions of the sort. One's own theological opinions cannot materially affect a work of this character. Still Dr. Hofmann's conservative and orthodox tendencies are by no means concealed. They occasionally affect his view of historical evidence, and often they disturb the perfect fairness of his critical judgment. He is anxious to hold fast whatever may be received as authentic, and at the same time to mark distinctly the limits of the legendary and the mythical. In doing this, he is rather inclined to be credulous. He is disposed, for example, to believe that the captain of the guard reported to Pilate the wonderful incidents that attended the crucifixion of Christ, and that Pilate issued a proclamation thereupon, calling together the Sanhedrim, to whom he addressed a sharp and stern speech; all which, though it may seem very probable, has no historical countenance whatever. But these are slight blemishes. The work in general must be pronounced learned and liberal. And if it is not as interesting or instructive as we might expect to find it, that is mainly our fault, or the fault of the subject, certainly not of Dr. Hofmann, who has made a curious and valuable book, if not an amusing one.

Before treating, as we mean to do briefly, of the rules and methods upon which the apocryphal histories were constructed, a few general remarks may not be out of place. If we apprehend the true definition of the term *apocryphal*, — if we consider that the books it applies to may possibly have been excluded upon some purely local ground, — if we remember that writings having no more claim to Apostolic origin than the Gospel of Nicodemus or the Protevangelium of James have found their way into our Bibles, — we shall be much more tolerant of that unwelcome word, and shall deal with the literature it designates in a more candid spirit. These writings were not "fictions" or "forgeries"; they were not "pious frauds," designed to impose upon the Church a false history or a corrupt faith. A literary "forgery," as we understand it, is impossible, where there is no just idea of history or historical criticism. And in that early age there was none. Books were written to set forth some

peculiar views in theology or piety; they had a practical aim, — sometimes didactic, sometimes controversial; and whoever wrote them sent them out under the name of some distinguished leader or teacher of those views. It was not asserted, it was not even implied, that the person whose name the book bore was of course its real author. The title indicated, not the composer of the work, but either the subject or the eyewitness of the history, if it was historical; or, if it was doctrinal, the class of opinions therein contained and defended,— the opinions with which that name was associated. There could be no imputation of fraud. There was no artifice, no contrivance, no attempt to pass off a thing for what it was not. Criticism did not ask, "Is the book genuine?" Only speculative faith asked, "Is it true as dogma?" As in all literature each distinguished representative mind has had a school of disciples who translated and explained its thought, so here certain Apostolical names represented current tendencies of speculation, and when a book appeared bearing one of these names, its character was understood at once.

If we ask for the causes that gave birth to such a vast number of ungenuine productions, some of them contemporaneous with our Gospels, and one or two even older, they lie immediately on the surface. It was natural that Christians in the first two centuries should want some standard of authority, some fuller exposition of Apostolical teaching than the writings in their possession afforded. They desired to know the opinions of Jesus and of his followers on more points, and in more detail, in order to meet the questions and satisfy the mental demands which each generation brought up. Truth must be unfolded progressively, by the continual movement of thought. Besides, radical controversies existed from the beginning among the orthodox believers themselves. There was the party of Paul, with its liberal tendencies. There was the party of Peter, with its conservative Jewish tendencies. These two sects carried on a perpetual discussion for many years, in the course of which numerous productions appeared on either side. What is Christian truth? This was the great question for a century and a half. No means existed for answering it finally to the satisfaction of any one generation. Each age, there-

fore, was compelled to make an answer for itself, connecting its thought as well as it could with the original traditions. To this end, these books which we call apocryphal, and others which bear no such name of reproach, were written. Christ had promised the "Spirit" to all his disciples. By the "Spirit" they were to be guided into all truth. Every Christian, therefore, who believed himself moved by the Spirit, who was persuaded that he saw the truth, felt at perfect liberty to publish his Gospel. Nay, in his own judgment, he was not only capable of writing, and justified in writing, but he was even bound to write as a sacred duty, since in this way he extended the views and advanced the work of the Apostles. He aided in building up the Church; he hastened the time when there should be one faith. Until this time drew nigh, it was every Christian's duty to labor in the Apostles' name and spirit, and even to be an apostle himself. It was incumbent on him to penetrate to the inmost mind and heart of his chosen teacher, and with fresh power and breadth to expound, enforce, and apply his original doctrine. Thus, as the Spirit was one, as it could neither mislead others nor contradict itself, it was hoped that the truth would in time be elicited and established.

With this general purpose, earnestly and seriously, never in a trifling mood, though often wanting dignity both of subject and of treatment, were all apocryphal books written; and with the same liberal understanding of their intent were they received. The Spirit prompted them. The Spirit judged them. The test of their orthodoxy was the Spirit. It being the common persuasion that every Christian possessed the Spirit of Truth, a book was criticized by the tone of thought which prevailed when it was written. If it fell in with the dominant Christian consciousness, it was accepted; otherwise, not. The question of genuineness was rarely debated. Not many were interested in it: very few were competent judges of it, in that age of faith. The standard of heresy, not the rules of scientific criticism, decided the authority of a writing. Setting aside all question of authorship, if one recognized in a document truth which commended itself to his own reason, he accepted it as Apostolical. It was possible, therefore, that, until the

canon of Scripture was closed, the same book might be rejected in one age and received in another. And this we find to have been the case. We will give one or two instances. Irenæus speaks of some who repudiated the fourth Gospel, on account of its Montanistic tendencies. The Apocalypse of John underwent many changes of fortune, was alternately welcomed and discarded, as this or that opinion ruled in the Church, but was finally received as canonical. On the other side, both Origen and Jerome tell us how writings unquestionably spurious were accepted as authoritative; as, for example, the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jude, the Second of Peter, the Second and Third of John, with others. Justin refers to the Sibylline Oracles and the Prophecies of Hystaspes, as coming from divine suggestion. Irenæus quotes the Shepherd of Hermas as an inspired writing, seeing, doubtless, in its dull visions some dim revelations of his own prejudices. Clement of Alexandria not only makes most honorable mention of the same production, but regards the "Preaching of Peter" as entirely authentic and canonical, comments upon the "Revelation of Peter" as if it were a catholic document, and counts the Sibylline Oracles among inspired books. The same Father believes in the Apostolical authorship of the Letters of Barnabas and of Clemens Romanus. Origen calls the Letter of Barnabas a catholic letter, speaks more than once with respect of the "Acts of Paul," and quotes the Clementine Recognitions as a genuine composition of the Roman Clement. Lactantius appeals to the Sibylline Oracles. Eusebius confesses that the Second Epistle of Peter was used because it was profitable (ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα). Athanasius cites the Shepherd of Hermas as "that very profitable book in which the Christian faith speaks." Epiphanius expressly maintains the true apostolical origin and canonicity of the "Constitutiones Apostolici," and considers them inspired. Fathers of the Church later than Epiphanius esteemed very highly these Apostolical Constitutions. They continued long in the use of the Oriental churches; and were first publicly rejected, and then not as ungenuine, but as heterodox, by the second Trullan Council, so called, which was convened at Constantinople in the year 691.

Such are only a few of the examples which might be given, to show how little criticism had to do with settling the authority of a book in those ancient times. In every case we have mentioned, the criterion was doctrinal. The writing which commended itself to the Christian belief of its day was true, canonical, apostolical. It is well known that each conspicuous sect, whether orthodox or heterodox, had its favorite Gospels, and did not hesitate to depreciate such as contained opinions at variance with its own, however well authenticated they might be. Martin Luther, in rejecting the Epistle of James, as "an epistle of straw," because it gave no countenance to his doctrine of Justification, was only following an old example. Had he wanted authority, he could have found it in the most distinguished scholars of the Church.

At length, after many years, no one knows when or how, a tendency towards harmony prevailed; opposing views, having gone to extremes, began to approach each other; a cast of opinion, not pure, but mixed, came to predominate among Christians, and the canon of Scripture was closed. It embraced in its limits many incongruous books, some genuine, others not; it contained several types of doctrine. This, too, we should have expected. Perhaps this very comprehensiveness was deemed a merit. A generous spirit of eclecticism may have suggested the compilation. At all events, the genius of scientific criticism never presided over the making of that rule of faith.

After the canon was closed, the composition of works in the name of Apostles became less common. In fact, from the middle of the second century this kind of literary activity declined, through the want of an adequate motive. Its chief work was done. No more expositions were called for. The utterances of the Spirit upon the most momentous truths could not be longer listened to, and so became silent. But not wholly dumb. Many things were to be said yet: and books were still written, though fewer, shorter, and of less ambitious purpose. On many points of history, and of doctrine, too, curiosity asked for satisfaction. Local tenets wanted a basis in tradition: and traditions must be made to bear some fruit of doctrine. Then, during a long series of years,

and under every kind of literary and religious motive, what we term the Apocryphal Gospels were written. These books owed their existence to as pious and serious a mind as that which produced the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse. They were not forgeries, or frauds, but honest, well-meaning attempts to supply a conscious deficiency in some department of belief. In certain quarters these books were received as authoritative. The Protevangelium of James was publicly read in the Oriental churches, as the production of James, the brother of Jesus. We learn from Thilo that the Gospel of Nicodemus was famous in the Latin Church till a late period, and was well known to Christians in the East. Many of these productions were in use and favor even in the sixth and seventh centuries, notwithstanding the canon was closed. The most distinguished of the Church Fathers did not disdain to use them as approved writings. The purpose of such writings was sometimes doctrinal or ecclesiastical; as, for instance, the "History of Joseph the Carpenter," which Thilo thinks was composed with a view to recommend a certain festival by the authority of Jesus; and the "Gospel of the Nativity of Mary," whose design, according to the same scholar, was to maintain against the Manicheans that Mary was descended from the line of David. Other books seem to have been historical only. It is with these, and with their historical aspect, that we are at present concerned.

Regarding the apocryphal Gospels as containing a life of Jesus, we are first constrained to ask on what principles this biographical portion was constructed. Whence came the facts? Before replying to this question, which carries us into the very heart of Dr. Hofmann's book, and opens to us many alluring trains of thought, we must be permitted to assert again, that, for a period of three or four hundred years, — yes, and for very much longer than that, — the principles of scientific criticism were not at all understood, and were scarcely thought of. There was no historical investigation of facts according to our modern methods. Men of reflection and learning gave credit to the strangest things, and resorted to the most extraordinary reasonings. Irenæus, for example, argues that there must be four Gospels, because there are four regions of the globe and four principal winds. The

Church covers the whole earth, and the Gospel is the foundation of the Church, therefore there must be a fourfold Gospel. Tertullian holds fast to the fable that John was plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, and came out unscathed. Jerome tells the story about the cave in which Jesus was born, and the ox and ass that recognized him as the Lord. Many of the Church Fathers, Origen and Eusebius among them, believed an idle tale that the gods of Egypt fell and broke in the presence of the infant Christ. Chrysostom was not ashamed to repeat the legend which related how water drawn from the Jordan on the night of Christ's baptismal day would preserve for two or three years the mysterious virtue which his body imparted to it. It is said to have been a custom among the Catholics, and even among the Protestants, to resort to the charmed river for water on this solemn anniversary. Eusebius believed that Christ, after his ascension, despatched one of his disciples to heal Abgarus. Justin Martyr tells how a miraculous light filled the cave in which Christ was born, and a host of angels sung, "Glory to God in the highest!" Augustine in a sermon says: "Deus per angelum loquebatur, et Virgo per aurem impregnabatur." So Bernard: "Missus est Gabriel a Deo, ut verbum patris per aurem Virginis," etc. And the following strain was sung on Christmas day: "Sancta Dei genitrix quæ concepisti per aurem Dominum nostrum." Men like Ambrose, Augustine, and St. Bernard even undertook to say at what particular word in the angel's greeting the life-giving spirit entered the Virgin's ear. Such things prove clearly enough that the very idea of scientific criticism was foreign to these authors. They judged of facts by another criterion than historical evidence. There was no trial of witnesses. Faith was very large, and did not care to discriminate. Imagination had free play in the region of the supernatural, its pious inventions passing unchallenged except by such as had a special interest in rejecting, or no motive aside from their credibility in accepting them.

We are not surprised, in such a state of mental confusion, to find whole histories constructed elaborately out of the fancy, and yet credited by large bodies of Christians. Such for the most part were the so-called Apocryphal Gospels. Two general principles seem to have

conspired in the production of the narrative portions of these books. One was the desire to fill up gaps or remove discrepancies in the canonical Gospels, and thus make their story complete. The other was a wish to fulfil all the prophecies in the Old Testament, by having ready a fact for every fancied prediction. The operation of these principles will be best shown by a few examples.

The Gospel history is fragmentary. Whole passages in the life of Jesus are passed over in silence; for instance, his childhood and youth, and the time that elapsed between his resurrection and his ascension. How did Jesus grow up? What were his occupations and tastes, — how was he regarded at home, by his parents and neighbors, — did he laugh, — did he play, — did he mingle with the boys of his age, — did he go to school, — was he conscious of his destiny, — did he exhibit any extraordinary wisdom, any miraculous power, — did he work at a trade? These were natural questions. Curiosity also seized upon recorded incidents in his biography, and demanded information. It wanted to know the private history of the immaculate birth; what transpired during the journey to Egypt, and there; whether Jesus was circumcised. It asked how his trial was conducted, who were his judges, and a thousand similar things, not forgetting to claim the solution of all historical doubts and disagreements. Such questions will find answers. Fancy is never slow to gratify inquisitiveness; and inquisitiveness will not be dainty if it only can be satisfied. It seems, accordingly, as if every possible query in regard to Christ was met in these apocryphal Gospels with the most innocent fearlessness. To give some instances. Jesus passed through no embryonic development: he was "vir perfectus in utero." Jesus, yet in the womb, heals the withered hand of an unbelieving nurse. While lying in swaddling-clothes, he says to his mother, "I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom the Father has sent to save the world." As an infant he was a perfect man. Jesus goes to school and confounds his teacher. He performs the most surprising miracles. On his return from Egypt, he cures the sick and leprous, raises the dead, makes clay sparrows fly, carries water in his apron, stretches out a large throne which his father had made too short, transforms his companions into goats, and

exhibits many other works, all equally marvellous, not all humane, some of them very cruel. He is described as the centre and virtual head of his father's household. No one ventured to eat or drink, or to seat himself at the table, or to break bread, until Jesus had done it before him. If he was absent, they waited for his return. If he was not hungry, the family dispensed with the meal. The subjects of his conversation with the doctors in the temple are reported in full. The discussion, it seems, turned upon the Messiah, the Scriptures, the divine mysteries of the prophets. He told the wise men about the heavenly bodies, their number, nature, and laws. He unfolded the secrets of natural philosophy, talked of temperaments, limbs, bones, veins, arteries, and nerves, and explained the mutual action of soul and body. It may be noted, by the way, as a curiosity, that in the year 1203 a book of seventy-eight octavo pages, without designation of place, appeared, containing an account of this interview in all its particulars, "by a Hebrew who was present." So far will curiosity go. The story of the flight into Egypt is told with the utmost minuteness of detail. Every thing is explained. The palm-tree bends down its branches and offers its fruit to the hungry travellers, and a spring of cool water bubbles from its roots to slake their thirst. Wild beasts escort the holy family, robbers of the desert flee before them. But the way to Egypt is long. Perhaps it was difficult to invent miracles enough to beguile it; Jesus therefore shortens the distance, so that the journey of thirty days is accomplished in one. "Straightway the mountains of Egypt came in sight." In a wilderness, as they are travelling, the wonderful pilgrims fall in with the two robbers who were afterwards crucified with Jesus; their names Titus and Dumachus. Titus bribes Dumachus to let the strangers pass unmolested, and Jesus predicts his blessed fate on the spot. These stories are all pure fictions. But they are fictions designed for a purpose. Curiosity called for them. Credulity accepted them.

Let us take some larger and more striking illustrations of this mode of constructing history out of imagination. The miraculous conception offered a very tempting field for the exercise of the inventive faculty. The importance attached to it as a fact by Christians generally, and the

extreme difficulty of certifying it as a fact, together with the necessity of reconciling discrepancies in the accounts of Matthew and Luke, conspired to make it a most interesting point of speculation. These apocryphal writers have anticipated the difficulties which modern scholars have found, and their solutions are among the most plausible that have been offered. Strauss in his Life of Jesus exhibits the value and significance of the Apocrypha in this aspect. The immaculate birth of Jesus must be proved: it must be explained. Its private history must be published. This is what faith demanded, and we cannot but admire the ingenuity with which the demand was met. The virginity of Mary is to be established. She is accordingly brought up in the temple, where she spends the day mostly in prayer, and is visited by angels. She dedicates herself to God: solemnly before the priests takes the vow of chastity. But this vow causes a serious difficulty. It cannot be broken: but then marriage, too, is a sacred institution and a solemn moral duty, which cannot be dispensed with. The priests, in this dilemma, resolve to try the appeal by the budding staff. All the males are commanded to bring their rods, and he whose rod blossoms is to take the maiden. The lot falls to Joseph, an old man, too old to be Mary's husband; so old, indeed, and decrepit, that he is ashamed to bring his staff, and tries to evade the decision for fear of ridicule. But he is divinely appointed by the sign, and Mary is given to him; nominally as his betrothed, practically as his charge or ward: for she can remain no longer in the temple. That the chain of evidence may be complete, the story goes on to say that Joseph left home immediately, leaving Mary in the company of five young damsels, who never allowed her to be out of their presence. These damsels afterwards swear earnestly to Joseph, on his return, that his wife has been true to her vow. When Mary's condition can no longer be concealed, Joseph solemnly conjures her to tell him the truth: she, bitterly weeping, protests her innocence, calling God to witness; and the afflicted man is assured and comforted by an angel. But the affair becomes public. Annas, the scribe, unluckily calls upon Joseph, to inquire why he had absented himself from the assembly, and discovers Mary's situation. He hastens to report the matter to the au-

thorities, for Joseph and Mary not being yet united in marriage, such a connection was regarded as a scandal and a sin. They by emissaries find that his report is true, and the guilty couple are summoned before the high-priest. This grave functionary charges them with the crime, and implores them to confess it. They both declare themselves innocent. The terrible ordeal must be passed through, in the presence of all the people, a crowd innumerable. Joseph calmly drinks the "water of conviction" and walks seven times round the altar, but no mark of sin appears on his countenance. Mary then drinks the water, performing the same ceremony, and she likewise comes out spotless: then, to make certainty doubly certain, she takes a solemn oath of her purity before the whole people. There is no gainsaying this. The high-priest and the nation are satisfied. But the chronicler is not satisfied yet. Mary's time draws nigh. One evening, on the road to Bethlehem, at a distance from any inn, she is obliged to seek the refuge of a cavern: there her child is born, amid the radiance of a celestial glory and the chanting of angelic songs. Joseph, who had gone out in search of a nurse, by and by returns with two, who are detained by a thick cloud without the cavern. These women Mary admits singly to her presence, and they both testify to her miraculous delivery. Here is a perfect chain of evidence. Every link is sound. It would be impossible to frame any thing more complete. "Virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permanet." The sanctified formula of the Church, "Virgo ante partum, in partu, post partum," is justified by incontrovertible facts.

The circumstances attending the trial and the resurrection of Christ, so baldly told in the canonical Gospels, offered a still larger scope for invention. Such inquiries as these came up in regard to the trial: Who were Christ's judges? What charges were brought against him? Were there no witnesses on his side? Was no miraculous sign displayed in his behalf? In regard to the resurrection, questions like the following were put: What was the evidence that Jesus rose from the grave? What did he do between his burial and his resurrection? What is the secret history of his descent into Hades? Why did all these wonders produce no greater effect

upon the people? In reply to similar inquiries, the Gospel of Nicodemus contains a long and minute account of all that occurred in connection with the trial, death, and resurrection of Jesus; of which account we will give the briefest possible summary. Certain Jews, whose names are mentioned, accuse Jesus before Pilate, of calling himself a king, and the Son of God, of doing beneficent deeds on the holy Sabbath, and of casting out evil spirits by magical arts. Pilate thinks these rather extraordinary crimes, and says so; but finally orders his messenger to seek Jesus and bring him in. The servant goes, meets Jesus riding into the city in triumphal procession, makes the humblest prostration before him, and delivers the governor's message. Jesus obeys the summons and follows the pursuivant, who out of respect spreads his mantle on the ground for the anointed feet to tread upon. In this way they reach the palace, amid the murmurs of the Jews. And now, as Jesus crosses the threshold of the hall, the banners of the guard bend forward and make obeisance. The accusers raise an outcry, and the standard-bearers are threatened with death if the thing occurs again; but in spite of twelve sturdy men, six to a flag-staff, the banners again do reverence. Pilate is struck with fear, and the impression of awe is deepened by the dream of Procla, who for effect is represented as half a Jewess. But the Jews are unmoved: they tell Pilate that Jesus by magical power bent the flag-staffs and sent the dream. Jesus makes no reply. He is charged with being an illegitimate child; with occasioning the murder of the infants of Bethlehem; and with fleeing to Egypt with his parents, because they had no refuge among their own people. Twelve men who witnessed the betrothal of Mary and Joseph testify on oath that he is no illegitimate child. Pilate then asks the Jews their object in thus pursuing Christ to death. "Is it because of his good works that ye would kill him?" "Yes." Here occurs some curious cross-questioning and sharp repartee between Pilate and the Jews, which we are obliged to omit. Now the closing charges are brought: blasphemy, which Pilate knows nothing about; and high treason, which is established by a very ingenious process, — a process that reminds us very strongly of some modern attempts to prove a "conspiracy to overthrow

the government." The counsel for the prisoner at length steps forward, — Nicodemus. He urges the argument of Gamaliel, that God manages such matters; if Jesus is a true man, God will sustain him; otherwise he will fail. Let Providence decide the issue. After him comes up the long procession of those whom Christ had healed or raised from the dead; and they give in their testimony. But it is all in vain. The Roman governor has heard the charge of high treason, and is afraid. Pilate signs the death-warrant. Among the curiosities preserved to us, we must not forget to mention a copy of this death sentence, word for word. This interesting document was found miraculously, they say, at Aquileia, in the kingdom of Naples, inclosed in a marble chest which was placed within two others; one of iron and one of stone. It was written on parchment and in Italian, afterwards translated into French, and published in Paris, 1581. Another copy, containing a different form of the sentence, much shorter, written in Hebrew letters upon a brass plate, was discovered in the same town in the year 1820, on occasion of digging for Roman antiques. During the campaign in Southern Italy, this plate, inclosed within a box of ebony, was deposited in a sacristy of the Carthusians near Naples. The chest was afterwards removed to the Casertine Chapel; but the Carthusians kept the plate for the gifts and offerings it brought them.

Of course, the whole scene of Christ's trial and crucifixion, so hurriedly sketched by the Evangelists, required embellishment and addition in order to satisfy either the Christians or their opponents in a later age. Legends hang upon these facts like humming-bees, one clinging to another. We are told how many steps Jesus took from Pilate's palace to Calvary; what pauses he made; how often he fell; at which point he met Simon of Cyrene; how far it was thence to the spot where the weeping women stood; further on, a little way, Ahasuerus, the shoemaker, afterwards known as the "Wandering Jew," warns Jesus from his door-step, and is commanded "to go and wander restless over the world till the last day." At length Christ reaches the cross, and is nailed upon it. Each of these nails again has its history. As some say, two of them, when the Empress Helena found the cross in the year 326, were wrought

into the bridle of Constantine, one was thrown into the Adriatic Sea, to quiet its turbulent waters, and the fourth was appropriated for the head of Constantine's statue. According to other accounts, two were used for the bridle and two for the helmet of the Emperor. One of these nails is still preserved in the Milan Cathedral, and has a special anniversary on the 3d of May. Another, as Father Newman vouches, is wrought into the iron crown of Lombardy, still exhibited at Monza. The Romish Church has twenty-five nails from the true cross. The question would naturally come up of the possibility of Christ's being crucified at all. Could the cross consent to bear him? A Jewish tradition says on this point, that Jesus bewitched all the wood, making it too fragile for his weight; whereupon Judas ran to his private garden, and brought a huge cabbage-stalk, a wood proof against magical arts, and upon this Jesus was executed. Such miserable stories are not worth repeating; but it is well enough, perhaps, to know what idle tales were circulated about Christ, and were believed too.

The earthquake that rent the curtain of the temple, and the darkness that came over the whole land when Jesus gave up the ghost, have been stumbling-blocks in the way of some who granted the facts, but could not account for the bystanders' apathy before them. The Gospel of Nicodemus clears up this problem. Pilate, indeed, singularly enough, knew nothing of earthquake or darkness till the guard came in with their report; then he turned pale, shrunk within himself, and for fear could not taste his food. He calls an assembly of the Jews. "What think you now? Was I not right?" "O, but it was only a common eclipse." "Say you so? But who ever saw an eclipse except at the new moon? And yesterday you ate the Passover on the fourteenth day of the month." Their mouths are shut. The history then goes on to tell how the friends of Jesus were persecuted, as we should expect they would have been, though our Gospels make no mention of it. The twelve who bore witness to Christ's legitimacy, Nicodemus, who made an argument in his defence, and Joseph of Arimathea, who requested the body for burial, were of course the objects of special hatred. The twelve had disappeared. Nicodemus was protected by his rank.

But Joseph could not escape. He was seized by the multitude, who were still more infuriated by his taunts and reproaches, dragged through the streets, doomed by the populace to death, and shut up for safe keeping during the night in a house that had no window, and whose only door was sealed and watched like the sepulchre. When he was sent for in the morning by the Sanhedrim, the seals were unbroken, the lock was undisturbed, but the prisoner was not to be found. While the members of the council are still deliberating in astonishment and dismay, some of the guard who had been set to watch the tomb of Jesus rush hastily in, bringing yet more appalling news. They had felt a great earthquake; they had seen an angel descend from heaven, roll away the stone, and sit upon it; they had heard him speak to the women, "Fear not; he is not here, he is risen." "But who were the women?" "We know not." "Why did you not arrest them?" "Because we were almost dead from fright." "We do not believe your story." "How should you, when you have disbelieved so many miracles? Give us Joseph, and we will give you Jesus." "Joseph has gone home." "And Jesus has gone into Galilee, as the angel said." Then the Jews, confounded but unsoftened, bribe the soldiers to report that Jesus had been stolen by the disciples, — a report which was in fact very widely current among the Jews in the middle of the second century, and a little earlier, perhaps; but Justin Martyr is the first to mention it.

So far the account is very like those in our canonical Gospels, only varied enough to make the evidence for the resurrection more complete. For the rest we are indebted to the scepticism or the credulity of an inquisitive age. The next point is to bring forward the testimony of Jews themselves. Accordingly, Phinehas, a priest, Addas, a scribe, and Aggaus, a Levite, just arrived from Galilee, come in, and assure the chiefs of the synagogues, the priests and the Levites, that they saw Jesus with his disciples sitting upon a mountain, and heard him say to them, "Go forth into all the world and preach," etc. After which direction he was taken upwards out of sight. This they affirm with an oath; but with equal readiness they take an oath not to tell any one else. So they are disposed of, silenced, and sent

out of town. But these things cause some commotion. In great agitation, the high-priests and rulers and elders assemble in the synagogue, and ask what all this means. Annas and Caiaphas give their views. "Why are you troubled? Must we believe the guards, that an angel came and rolled away the stone? They were bribed once, why not before? No doubt the disciples who stole the body paid them well to bring us that report." Nicodemus proposes a search for the body, with a view to determine whether Christ be dead or risen. The suggestion is adopted, the search is thoroughly executed; of course without success. The body is not discovered. But Joseph of Arimathea is found by one of the parties, alive and well. This fact being known, Joseph is cautiously and courteously invited to Jerusalem. He comes, is most affectionately received and bountifully feasted. The day after his arrival, he meets the whole assembled Sanhedrim, and tells his story, to this effect. He was shut up, in close confinement, as related. At midnight, after the Sabbath, as he stood and prayed, the house was lifted at the four angles, — a blaze of fire flashed into his eyes, — he fell to the earth, — a hand was laid upon him, — a voice addressed him, — he looked up and saw Jesus. To convince Joseph of his identity, Jesus led him to the sepulchre, and showed him the grave-clothes with the napkin; then bore him to his own house, laid him on the bed, kissed him, bade him remain in seclusion forty days, and departed. This explicit testimony of Joseph staggers the rulers and priests and Levites; they fall upon the earth, — they eat nothing for nine days. At length they revive, only, however, to be overwhelmed again by fresh news. Phinehas, Addas, and Aggaus are sent for by express, to repeat their tale. They come, and separately testify to the same effect: that they saw Jesus sitting with his disciples, heard what he said to them, and witnessed his ascension. Thus, "by the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word is established." Then spake Joseph: "And why wonder ye if Jesus be risen? That is not the marvellous thing, but this rather; that he summoned from their tombs many others, who have appeared to multitudes in Jerusalem. The graves of Simeon, of his sons and brothers, whom we lately buried, are open and empty, and they

walk living in Arimathea. Men hear them pray, but they address no one, and are dumb as the dead. Come, let us go and see them." Then uprose the rulers and high-priests and all the company, and came to Arimathea. They found the persons they sought, in prayer, accosted them, brought them to Jerusalem, and conjured them to tell their strange history. The men cross themselves, and call for paper, ink, and pen. They cannot speak, but they can write. And thus they relate what passed in Hades: "We were in the under-world with the rest of the dead. Suddenly, at midnight, a ray like the sun's broke through the gloom, and revealed us to one another. Then Abraham and the patriarchs and the prophets joyously united and conversed about the light. Isaiah said, 'This is the light of which I prophesied, saying, "The people that sat in darkness saw a great light."' Then father Simeon joined them, and called to mind his prediction, that Christ should be 'a light to lighten the Gentiles.' All at once, as we were congratulating each other, John the Baptist, haggard and wild, lifted up his voice and began to preach repentance, for the coming of the Son of Man was nigh. So one after the other added his word of encouragement, and all were glad and elated. While the inhabitants of the dark realm were so full of rejoicing, the Lord of Darkness, Satan, rose, and thus addressed Hades: 'O thou greedy and insatiate, hear me. A Jew, named Jesus, has been crucified through our agency. Be ready, now, to bring him hither in safety. He has done a great deal of mischief in the world, persecuting my servants, healing my sick, raising my dead.' 'Can he do that?' said Hades. 'How, then, will you withstand him?' To whom rejoined Satan, 'Art thou afraid, O greedy and insatiate Hades, of this our common enemy? I have not feared him.' Hades replied, 'Lord of Darkness, Son of Ruin, Devil, but now thou saidest that his word summoned from the grave many whom thou didst slay. How shall we bind him, then?' While Satan and Hades were thus disputing, a mighty voice rolled like thunder through the shades, 'Open your doors, ye princes! Be ye opened, ye everlasting gates, for the King of Glory would come in!' Then said Hades to Satan, 'Go out and make what stand against him thou

canst; and, ye spirits, make strong the gates of brass, and draw the iron bolts, for woe to us if he gains admission.' The patriarchs then, with one accord, remonstrated with Hades. David exclaimed, 'O blind, knowest thou not that, while on the earth, I uttered that prophetic strain, "Open the doors, ye princes"?' And Isaiah, 'Impelled by the Holy Spirit, I wrote, "The dead shall rise, and those in the graves shall be raised, and they that are on the earth shall rejoice." And this too, "Death, where is thy sting? Grave, where is thy victory?"' And again the voice sounded mightily on: 'Open your doors!' 'Who is the King of Glory?' stammered Hades, with feigned ignorance. The reply came back in thunder tones from a thronging host of angels: 'The Lord, strong and mighty; the Lord, mighty in battle.' And at the word, the brazen doors crashed in; the iron bars were ground to powder; all the dead were loosed from their fetters. In marched the King of Majesty with human form, and the gloom of the underworld vanished before his dazzling glory. 'Who art thou,' screamed Hades, 'that hast such authority and might? that comest hither without sin, small in person, great in power, lowly and exalted, servant and master, hireling and king? Nailed to the cross, laid in the grave, already art thou free! Who art thou, that loosest the captive bound in the fetters of sin?' And the legions of devils cried, with fearful, shaking voices, 'Whence art thou, Jesus, a man so strong and majestic, so pure and spotless? Never did the upper world, which is ours and pays us tribute, send hither such a guest as thou.' Then the King of Majesty seized Satan, the Prince of Hell, by the crown, and delivered him over to his angels, to be bound in iron till the time of the second coming. And now, amid the din of blaspheming, hateful voices, the sweet tones of Jesus were heard, saying, 'Come unto me, all ye sanctified, who bear my likeness.' And all the saints gathered about him, and fell at his feet. Songs of benediction and praise filled the ghastly region with joy. Christ took Adam graciously by the right hand, and began the upward flight towards heaven. The rest in procession followed; — David singing his psalm, — Habakkuk shouting his cry of triumph, — Micah praising the Lord's forgiving mercy, which 'sunk our

sins in the bottom of the sea'; while ever and anon the mighty chorus pealed forth, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Halleluia! Amen!' Thus the train of the ransomed were led on towards heaven. As we drew near the gates of paradise, behold, two old men waited there. One of them said, 'I am Enoch, the favorite of God, and this is Elias, the Tishbite. And we shall live till the end of the world; then will God send us to battle against Antichrist; we shall be slain, and in three days shall rise again, and be received into heaven.' While they were yet speaking, lo, a sad, downcast figure appeared, bearing a cross upon his shoulder. 'Who art thou, that hast the semblance of a robber, and what cross is that thou bearest?' 'I was a thief on the earth; I was crucified with Christ; I believed in him and said, "Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom." And he replied, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."' Then arose a grander chorus of praise, and we all swept through the gates."

This is the story of those who rose with Christ, and who remained on earth, wandering up and down the Jordan, witnesses of the Lord's resurrection. They had been baptized, and clothed in white garments. Their companions had already ascended. They were about to ascend. They gave their scrolls into the hands of Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel, and straightway vanished in light. This overwhelming testimony convinces the Jews. In a secret conclave, at which Pilate is present, the sacred books are brought and consulted, and by them it is proved that Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God. Pilate, become a Christian, writes a long letter to Cæsar, recounting all these events, and the history closes.

This extract is long, almost too long for an illustration. We have shortened the passage much, and taken other liberties with it. But we had not the heart to omit it altogether. For, apart from its striking dramatic form, it is curious in a doctrinal view, as exhibiting the prevalent opinions respecting Hades and paradise, the mission of Christ to the under-world, the office of Satan, and kindred matters. But it is as a piece of history that it interests us. All this was published and received as history. Its object was to accumulate evidence upon an historical point, to satisfy people by every possible argu-

ment that Christ had actually risen and ascended. The case is most ingeniously managed, for minds whose faith or whose ignorance is proof against many a practical incongruity and improbability. The descent of Christ into Hades was believed quite early by the Orthodox Church. The writer of the First Epistle of Peter believed it. The writer of Ephesians received it as a fact. But it was a fact based on a theory. It was a fact constructed wholly by the pious theological sentiment, without a scrap of historical reason. It was constructed by the same sentiment that enrolled Joseph, the father of Jesus, among the priesthood, that his son might be priest as well as king, — that gave the same Joseph the title of Confessor, Patriarch, Colleague of the Holy Spirit, assigned him a seat among the Apostles, made him a judge of the world, and designated him — as was actually done in a book published at Paris in 1627, and approved by the theological faculty — "the third person of the Holy Trinity reigning on earth." Where there is nothing like historical research or historical criticism, there can be no wrong in drawing upon the imagination for one's facts.

We have now fully illustrated one of the principles on which these old histories were constructed; namely, that gaps must be filled up, difficulties met, and questions answered. The second principle we can pass over more swiftly. History was invented to supply deficiencies and reconcile discrepancies. It was also invented to fulfil prophecies. This method of creating facts was one of the most common. We see it exemplified in our own canonical books, both Gospels and Epistles. Christ as Messiah was foretold by the ancient prophets, therefore a description of him must be found in their writings. Those old predictions were of course fulfilled, therefore the historical Christ is made to satisfy them. This is easily done, so long as attention is fixed upon the general features of the Messiah, or upon the general drift of the prophetic sayings. But when details come to be examined, text must be construed in accordance with history, and history must be builded in conformity with text. Things came to pass "in order that it might be fulfilled," or "so that it was fulfilled." Abundant instances of such historical treatment will occur to every careful reader of the four Gospels.

The apocryphal Gospels only carry out the same method. As men searched the Scriptures deeper, more passages of prophetical import were discovered, and consequently more correspondent facts were to be invented. Joseph's rod blossoms, and the dove descends upon it, because, according to Isaiah, "a rod shall spring from the root of Jesse, and a bud shall sprout from it, and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon it." Dragons worship Jesus, in conformity with the Psalm, "Praise the Lord, ye dragons." Lions in the desert lie down with oxen and asses; the wolf pastures with the sheep, as was foretold. The idols of Egypt fell in pieces before Christ, that the words of Isaiah might be fulfilled, "Behold, the Lord will come in a light cloud, and all the handiwork of the Egyptians shall be overthrown before his face." At the entrance of the cave where Christ was born, a fountain began to play. "O that one would give me to drink of the waters of Bethlehem, which are by the door!" An ox and an ass worshipped the infant Christ. "The ox knoweth his master, and the ass his master's crib." Christ must perform what the old prophets performed. He raises a boy from the dead, in imitation of Elijah and Elisha. Like Daniel, he is exposed in a den of lions, which not merely forbear to injure him, but most humbly do him reverence. Similar cases of accommodation might be mentioned almost without number; but they are monotonous and stupid, not worth speaking of at all except by way of examples. For this purpose we have cited enough.

Dr. Hofmann has collected many curious things relating to his subject. Pilate's death sentence is given at length; also his letter to Tiberius, mentioned above. We have also the correspondence said to have passed between Christ and Abgarus of Edessa, — a short letter on each side. The epistle from Christ, "written by his own hand," was perhaps forged in order to meet the assertion that Jesus left no writing. Attempts of this kind were frequent. The Church has in its possession several productions from the Saviour's pen. It knows very well what words Christ wrote upon the sand when the adulteress was brought before him. Fabricius mentions books enough to form a large collection, — no less than twelve separate documents. The most important of these are, —

1st. Books addressed to Peter and Paul upon magic, which Christ wrote shortly before his death. 2d. "Hymnus Christi quem dixit secrete Sanctis Apostolis discipulis, et qui in Canone non est positus, propter eos qui secundum se sentiunt, et non secundum Spiritum et Veritatem Dei"; the same hymn that Matthew speaks of as sung before going out from the chamber of the last supper. 3d. "Epistola Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi filii, quæ in Hierosolymis cecidit (de cœlo) Michæl ipsam deportavit, et inventa est ad portam Ephrem per manus sacerdotis nomine Eros." This letter treats of the observance of Sunday in a manner that does not in the least remind one of the sentiments entertained by Jesus on that subject. 4th. A letter of our Lord Jesus Christ which fell from heaven, at Jerusalem, on the fourth of September. It was found in a great stone, which opened when the patriarch Johannilius took it in his hand. This letter contains threatenings against the unconverted. These are but a specimen of the writings which from time to time have been published as authentic, having fallen from heaven, or in some other equally marvellous way come into people's hands. Fabricius has a full account of them.

Dr. Hofmann has also taken from Fabricius and Grabe a number of sayings attributed to Christ by the ancient Church, but not reported in the canonical Gospels. It was never supposed that these Gospels contained all the Lord's words, and it would have seemed strange if others had not been preserved. Here, therefore, we have them. The demand is supplied. And a very poor supply it is. With one or two exceptions, nothing could be more insipid and unsuggestive than these sayings. Here is a noticeable one: "The same day he saw one laboring on the Sabbath, and said unto him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, happy art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art under the curse, a transgressor of the Law.'" One from the Gospel of the Hebrews: "Never be joyful except when ye have looked upon your brethren in love." These contain kernels of thought, unlike most of the rest.

Of course there are many descriptions of the person of Christ, sketched according to the ideal of manly beauty, or the peculiar cast of piety, or the favorite tradition,

that prevailed at the time. The following is the description which Lentulus, Pilate's predecessor, is said to have written in a letter to the Roman Senate: — "He is a man of tall and goodly stature, of grave and impressive countenance; so that whoever looks upon him must love him, as well as fear. His locks, dark-colored and shining, fall in curls over his shoulders, and are parted in the middle of the head, after the manner of the Nazarenes. His brow is smooth and serene; his face, lightly tinged with red, is free from wrinkle or blemish; nose and mouth faultless; the beard strong and dark like the hair, not long, but divided; the eyes grayish-blue and clear. In rebuke he is terrible; in admonition mild and gracious, frank in his observation of worth. He has never been seen to laugh, but often to weep. His bearing is upright and firm. His hands and arms are beautiful to look upon. In speech he is frugal of words, and modest, — the fairest of all the sons of men." We recognize in the foregoing sketch the type which the painters have all but universally copied, which has restricted the free conceptions of genius, and which has multiplied in many a masterpiece that regular, sad, drooping countenance, regular, but lifeless and passive, which fails utterly to present to us the divine tenderness and the human faith of Jesus. The common print, said to have been taken by order of the Emperor Tiberius, giving us a very interesting profile, strongly expressive of human energy and mortal suffering, is of great antiquity. Of the portraits of Christ taken off upon napkins and handkerchiefs, nothing need be said, though the wisest have believed them authentic.

As works of art these apocryphal Gospels do not certainly stand high. For the most part their style is extremely simple and homely. Occasionally, however, we meet with a passage of uncommon beauty. Here is one. Anna the mother of Mary bewails her barrenness. "As she looked up to heaven she saw the nest of a sparrow upon the laurel-tree, and sighed: 'Woe is me! woe is me! who has begotten me, and what body has borne me, that I am become a curse before the children of Israel, despised, reviled, thrust from the temple of the Lord my God? Woe is me! to what shall I compare myself? Not to the birds of heaven, for they are fruitful before

thee, O God; not to the dumb beasts, for they are fruitful before thee; not to the waters, for they, O Lord, are fruitful; not to the earth, for the earth brings forth fruit in its season, and blesseth thee.'" The description of Mary growing up in the temple is very sweet. But the beauty throughout is artless. Even the scene of Christ's descent into Hades is told with the utmost simplicity, though the very idea compels the insertion of one or two sounding passages.

Much might be said of the doctrinal character of these books, did our space permit. But we must pass this matter altogether by. Let it suffice to say, that the dogmatical opinions are such as belong to the second and third centuries, and are almost the only data from which we can infer the antiquity of the books.

A far more interesting point is the moral character of these apocryphal writings. A distinctive moral character they can scarcely be said to possess. There is very little of Christ in them. Their subject is not Jesus, but the circumstances of Jesus. Of his soul, their perception is the very faintest. He is a theme, a theological postulate, not a man or moral being at all. He is rarely introduced speaking; and in general it is but a negative impression that he leaves upon us. Some things that he does are very decidedly bad. He is crafty, cruel, disobedient, and vain. The virtues of humanity are wanting in him, such qualities having given place to mere theological virtues in those who thus wrote his history. The little goodness he displays is Messianic, or according to prophecy, and is due to the Old Testament. No worthier excellence, perhaps, could these biographers discover or appreciate; for of living goodness distinctively Christian in that age there was none. Virginity is held in extravagant esteem, as it was generally by the early Christians. According to Jerome, Elisha was a virgin, and Jeremiah, with many others. John of Damascus writes that the body of Daniel was so hardened by chastity, that the lions could not fasten their teeth upon it; and three boys brought their flesh to such a state by temperance, that fire would not burn them. So Mary urges the example of Abel, of Elias, and, strangely enough, of David, to countenance her own virginity. None but ecclesiastical and theological virtues are held in any considerable re-

pute by these writers. Of Jesus of Nazareth, the just and the tender, the heroic and the merciful, exalted above the highest and lowlier than the humblest, no trace is left.

This is to us a significant fact, going far to confirm the substantial genuineness of Christ's character as portrayed by the Evangelists. On these dull minds and flaccid souls the living human Jesus has made no impression of himself. The beautiful image is all blurred and disjointed. So little capacity had these pious Christians and Christian Fathers, even for reflecting his goodness; and this, too, when the name of Jesus had been professed a hundred years and more, and men ought to have understood, in some degree at least, the excellence which he exemplified. Nevertheless, through all these murky shades of ignorance and formalism, that delicate light has penetrated to us. Through all this variety of distorting media, cloudy and dense, Jesus is seen in outline singularly clear. Truly, then, he must have been great indeed, transcendently great, to enable any eyes so distant as ours to behold him ever so imperfectly. Shall we say that his character was an invention in those dark ages? The very idea is self-destructive. It was no invention of Jew or Gentile, or both. It was no compilation from the Old Testament or the Talmud. It was no fabrication, unless men can describe what they cannot imagine. Christ must have burst through the limits of Hebrew thought and feeling. He stood by himself, a moral and religious wonder, which men who lived near him beheld and revered. His biographers gave him to us in spite of themselves. They could not bury him beneath their own weight of dulness. This is significant to us of some great original power in Jesus Christ. He was not the development of his age, but the fresh manifestation of God.

Comparisons have often been instituted between the apocryphal and the canonical Gospels. Sometimes impudently, by those who would disparage the latter, or timidly, by those who would defend them. Much that has been said by Christian apologists is undoubtedly just; but we rarely see the great difference between these works fully and fairly stated. The main stress is usually laid upon the miraculous character of the respective

productions. This is well, but it is not all. It is true, the miracles of the apocryphal Gospels are often trivial, unmeaning, immoral, savoring much of the vulgarly fabulous. But this may in part be accounted for by the circumstance, that the books were written as uncanonical, and that the occasion for miracle necessarily became more frivolous as miracles were multiplied, while the taste of the gross and credulous people grew coarser with what it fed on. Besides, as the writings were circumstantial, rather than doctrinal, the spirit of invention was naturally more reckless. But this criterion of miracles is at the best formal and superficial; while the difference between the canonical and the apocryphal Gospels is radical and essential. It stamps itself upon their substance and their construction, upon their idea and their form.

The Gospels we have were composed in the heated age of controversy, ere yet any standard of Scriptural authority was established. The broad truth was open. Fundamental questions were debated by the greatest minds. Opinions were slowly forming. Every book that was written represented a party, — a form of belief. Consequently, our Gospels bear a distinctive theological character. Doctrine is first in importance, — biography of secondary rank. The books are doctrinal books. So regarded in their day, so accepted and sanctioned by the Church of a later day.

But these apocryphal Gospels were written after the canon was closed. The one faith was fixed, at least so far as the books containing it were concerned. Evangelical compositions had no longer the solemn, dignified purpose they previously had. Nothing was left but to dwell upon local and incidental points of belief, and to clear up doubtful and tangled matters of history. Hence the books we have been considering are in greater measure historical. They possess a kind of antiquarian value, but are of little worth to Christians generally. It naturally ensued, that, having no hold upon the religious sentiments of any influential party, they fell into disuse and perished.

Then, too, the moral and spiritual superiority of the New Testament writings is very remarkable. The mystic discourses of John, those rapt utterances, delighting

the speculative by their philosophical expression and moving the devout by their impressive piety; the practical maxims and searching principles of Matthew; the Sermon on the Mount; the noble, beautiful parables, scattered up and down the first three Evangelists; and running through all, the marvellous character of Jesus, not fully drawn, nor in all parts complete, but still matchless in moral elevation and spiritual loveliness, with its wonderfully blended virtues, its elements of faith and self-sacrifice, of courage and meekness, of patience and energy, glorious fragments which, by their very incompleteness, suggest to our imaginations a being such as the world has never seen; — all such traits commend themselves.

The apocryphal Gospels have none of these qualities, not a single one. They have no discourses that address the reason, the conscience, or the soul. They have no precepts above their age; they have no morality and no piety; they substitute the dulness of pedantry for the living truth of the heart; and their Christ is a poor wooden creature, contrived by the wit of not over-ingenious superstition, and decked out with the tinsel ornaments of a feeble and false imagination.

In addition to all this, our Gospels are works of art. They are elaborate compositions; by no means the rude and artless records they are commonly supposed to be. They possess unity of design and harmony of execution. The fourth Gospel, as a literary work, is highly wrought throughout. It is an admirable composition for its day. The art is not so apparent in the first three Evangelists, nor is it so perfect in them; but we recognize it on a closer inspection. Now, are the poor, incoherent fragments of apocryphal Gospels, which tell a few improbable stories about the infancy or the death of Christ, to be compared with such productions as these? Why, had there never been the least thought of assigning an Apostolic origin to the New Testament writings, and had these historical scraps borne the very mark and autograph name of disciples, the judgment of Christendom would have been the same that it was. The canon of Scripture would have stood, in every important point, as it stands to day. The same books would have lived, the same would have perished. For the mind that loves

truth has a sense of truth, and is not to be duped by any false imitations of it.

One Dr. Richard Clemens is at present publishing in Stuttgart a new edition of these fragments, which he entitles "The Suppressed or so-called Apocryphal Gospels." Suppressed indeed! How could they be otherwise than suppressed, borne under by their own weight? They were made of refuse material, they interested a small circle, and of course could not serve the permanent uses of the Church. But they have their value still. They open to us the mind and heart and religious spirit of the ancient times, as no other writings can. They disclose the workings of Christian thought upon matters of critical inquiry. And they furnish pregnant suggestions respecting the composition of those greater books, which tell us all we know of Christ, and relate the early movements of that faith which, in after time, assimilated to itself the thought and reverence of the civilized world. O. B. F.

Art. III. — THE RELIGION OF GEOLOGY.*

This is a book. We mean by this, that it contains the discussion of an important subject, by one who is both able and in earnest. President Hitchcock is no tamperer with subjects which he does not understand, upon which he has not thought long and seriously. We are not surprised that his mind has been deeply interested in the discussions which have taken place respecting the relations of revealed and geological truth. Indeed, the subject of natural religion seems to claim peculiar attention at this time, especially on account of the modifications of their interpretations of Scripture which recent scientific truths require at the hands of theologians. It is of no use for interpreters to attempt to blink these subjects. They cannot do it if they would; it would

* *The Religion of Geology, and its connected Sciences.* By Edward Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D., President of Amherst College, and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company. 1851. pp. xvi., 511.

be wicked for them to do it if they could. Every body reads now-a-days; and every body knows that supposed difficulties exist, that insuperable obstacles lie in the way of present explanations. Some new interpretations must be given, or the validity of Revelation will be shaken. One class of interpreters either deny the facts of Geology, or give such an account of them as makes confusion worse confounded. Granville Penn, in his "Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaic Geologies," Fairholme, in his "Geology of Scripture," Dr. Young, in his "Scriptural Geology," Rev. Henry Cole, in his "Popular Geology subversive of Divine Revelation," Rev. R. Wilson, in his "Strictures on Geology and Astronomy," are specimens of this class. We will name no examples in our own country. On the other hand, Dr. John Pye Smith, "On the Relations between the Holy Scriptures and some Parts of Geological Science," which was reviewed in this journal,* Dr. Harris, in his "Pre-Adamite Earth" and in "Man Primeval," Rev. John Anderson, D. D., in his "Course of Creation," and Rev. David King, LL. D., are examples of those who accept the facts of Geology, and by various modifications of the popular interpretations of the Bible endeavor to reconcile them with Revelation.

Still another class of writers, accepting the facts of Geology, deny the facts of Revelation, as utterly irreconcilable with them on any credible hypothesis.

That some modification must be made in the popular interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis is evident to every scholar who is a believer in both Geology and the Bible. And no man sees this more clearly than President Hitchcock. He feels keenly, too, the peril of any attempt at modification in the popular interpretation of the Scriptures. The cry of "heresy" is not yet powerless, and he who ventures to question orthodox opinions ventures to be called a denier of the faith of the Bible; and to crown the whole, as more terrible, because least understood, a "Transcendentalist"! Hence the tone of the President's work is deprecatory. He is not timid, however. He has thought for himself, and these thoughts he frankly expresses. He claims that Geology requires

* January, 1841.

no greater modification of popular opinion than astronomy did, and that he who accepts the truths of astronomy and still accepts the Scriptures, can accept them in connection with the facts of Geology. The opposition to astronomical science, and its supposed contradiction of Scripture, are well illustrated by an extract which is made from Turretin: —

"He propounds the inquiry, 'Do the sun and moon move in the heavens and revolve around the earth, while the earth remains at rest?' This he affirms, 'in opposition to certain philosophers,' and sustains his position by the following arguments: 'First. The sun is said [in Scripture] to move in the heavens, and to rise and set. Ps. xix. 5: The sun is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. Ps. civ. 19: The sun knoweth his going down. Eccles. i. 5: The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down. Secondly. The sun, by miracle, stood still in the time of Joshua (Joshua x. 12 – 14), and by a miracle it went back in the time of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 8). Thirdly. The earth is said to be fixed immovably. Ps. xciii. 1: The world also is established, that it cannot be moved. Ps. civ. 5: Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever? Ps. cxix. 90, 91: Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth. They continue this day according to thine ordinances. Fourthly. Neither could birds which fly off through an hour's circuit be able to return to their nests; for in the mean time the earth would move four hundred and fifty of our miles. Fifthly. Whatever flies or is suspended in the air ought [by this theory] to move from west to east; but this is proved not to be true from birds, arrows shot forth, atoms made manifest in the sun, and down floating in the atmosphere.' *Compendium Theologicæ Didactico-Eleucticæ* (Amsterdam, 1695)."

To a merely lexical and grammatical interpreter, such reasoning would be conclusive, and he would not deign to examine either the alleged facts, or the arguments of the astronomer. So the inquisitors and cardinals would not look through Galileo's telescope to see whether what he asserted was true or not. At the present day, also, some theologians plant themselves upon some passage, phrase, or word of Scripture, and sooner could a mountain be removed out of its place, than they removed one hair's breadth from their position. They can see nothing, though the meridian sun blazes before their eyes; they can hear nothing, though the thunder rolls across the sky,

Such men are hopeless cases. They worship the letter and not the spirit of the Bible, and hence they are killed, not made alive. President Hitchcock is a full believer in the inspiration of the Scriptures after the straitest model. His religious views are of such a school, that Geology clashes with them much more directly than with ours. Still, the facts of Geology are so well established, that he thinks it little short of madness to deny them, or attempt to ignore them. The only practical question with him is, "How can the facts of Geology and my system of religion be harmonized?" To this work he applies himself; and he does it bravely. He shrinks from no difficulty, however appalling; he turns aside from no obstinate fact, though it be hard as quartz. He drills his way through the mountain of difficulties before him, using his pick and hammer as freely as when among the rocks and in the ravines. His originality gives freshness to his book. It has the fragrance of the woods and fields. It reminds us of "The Old Red Sandstone," in this respect. Not that President Hitchcock has the rhetorical skill of Hugh Miller. Far otherwise. His style is almost as angular, but not as polished, as his crystals. Still, he draws his arguments and illustrations fresh from his own investigations. He is no bookworm, in the sense of eating up other men's thoughts and spinning them out again. He has read books enough, and knows what they say; but he has eyes of his own, and he has used them. We have been very much interested, therefore, in seeing how such a man, with such a religious creed, would manage the subject which he has taken in hand, and which was made so much more difficult to him than it would be to others, whose views differ from his own. We are not sure, however, that he has hit upon the right method of solution. We will state some of the difficulties, his method of disposing of them, and the objections to it.

The first difficulty is found in fixing the epoch of creation; popular interpretation placing the creation of the heavens and the earth about six thousand years ago, six days before man was made, and Geology as many millions of years ago.

Geologists who respect the account of the creation as recorded in Genesis adopt one or the other of two

methods in attempting to remove this difficulty. One method is to understand the six days as indefinitely long periods of time, each including millions of ages. The insuperable objection to this hypothesis, which every sound interpreter sees, is, that an "evening and morning" are said to constitute the day, and it is incredible that the earth in the beginning required millions of years to perform one revolution on its axis, a necessary consequence of the hypothesis. We are not aware that, at this day, any intelligent geologist and interpreter of Scripture endeavors to maintain this view.

The other method to which we referred is derived from the hypothesis, that millions of years elapsed between the "beginning," when the heavens and the earth were created, and the time when "God said, Let there be light: and there was light." During all these inconceivably long ages, "the earth was *without form and void*, and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." While this chaotic mass was fermenting under the wings of the Spirit, the "deep" was made to "boil like a pot" by the monsters that swept through its waters, and the darkness was made hideous with the noise of "doleful creatures." Race after race came and went; plesiosaurians, megalosaurians, oceans of fish, and forests of birds, all lived, enjoyed, and died, during these "dark" ages. Beds of rock miles in thickness were deposited from the sediment contained in the turbid water; bowlders were transported across valleys and driven up to the tops of high mountains by ocean currents and icebergs; destructions and creations followed each other in long succession, anterior to the word which God spake, as recorded in the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis, — "Let there be light: and there was light." Such is the other method; and the six days are understood to be periods of twenty-four hours each, in which the work was done which is recorded in the rest of the chapter.

To us there is an insuperable objection to this hypothesis. It is not, that the language does not admit the construction thus put upon it, as a possible one. We do not think it the obvious nor the probable one, however. There is nothing in the language which naturally admits of such a construction, and the mere fact that

a few commentators have suggested it as possible, and a few advocated it as probable, only shows how many *possible* meanings a passage *may* have, and not what its real meaning is. But this is not our objection to the hypothesis. It has weight, but we pass it by as being a common one, and one frequently discussed. Our objection is a more serious one, and, as we believe, fatal to the hypothesis. It did not escape the keen eye of President Hitchcock, and he has endeavoured to obviate it. But ineffectually, we think, and we will endeavor to show that our opinion is not without reason. The objection is this. The fossils of this long period, which are now exhumed from their ancient tombs in the rock, have organs of vision. Were these animals and fishes furnished with eyes millions of ages before light was created? The fishes in the Mammoth Cave have no eyes. Why should the animals which roamed in the forests and swam in the seas of the ante-Adamite world have been furnished with these useless organs? President Hitchcock admits that the "objection is probably insuperable, ... if it be indeed true that light was not called into existence till the first day." It is *certainly* insuperable so far as present scientific and philological knowledge extends. Is not the record clear and emphatic, that "light" was made on the first day? President Hitchock suggests, and quotes Rosenmüller in confirmation of his suggestion, that the "lights," spoken of in the fourth day, were not then "made," but their office pointed out, namely, to "divide the day from the night"; and to be "for signs and for seasons, and for days, and years." It is very difficult to reconcile this view with the rest of the fourth day's work, for it is explicitly said, "And God *made* two great lights, ... and God *set* them in the firmament of the heaven, to *give light* upon the earth." They were both "made" and "set to give light" on the *fourth* day; not simply brought to view, "set"; but they were "made" also. Even if it is granted that the "lights," sun and moon and stars also, were now for the first time brought out of the chaotic mist in which they had been previously enveloped, it is evident that, according to the record, "light" was not made before the first day. The sun, moon, and stars must have been *made*, created, when God said, "Let

there be light." If they were not then created, should one choose such an interpretation, and President Hitchcock seems to do it, then the only remaining hypothesis is, to suppose that the darkness over the earth had been so thick and impenetrable that no ray had ever reached the "formless" earth. He says, "We may suppose that the production of light was only rendering it visible to the earth, over which darkness hitherto brooded; not because no light was in existence, but because it did *not shine* upon the earth." Then we ask again, why did the inhabitants of the waters, now found in shoals, almost, in the old red sandstone, have eyes, when not a beam of light had ever pierced the "darkness that was upon the face of the waters"?

The record distinctly declares that the period of time, be it longer or shorter, which elapsed from the creation of "the heavens and the earth" to the time when "God said, Let light be, and light was," was one deep and unbroken darkness. So even President Hitchcock appears to admit in the passage quoted. But this admission is fatal to the original hypothesis, of a long series of ages before the first day's work, in which the sun shone brightly, and the moon rose joyfully, and the stars glowed purely in the sky, which spread its canopy over millions of animated beings that sported in joy beneath its overarching beauty.

The supposition that the wants of Geology are met by occupying the interval before the first day in making the changes in the earth's crust, and destroying and creating successive races of inhabitants, is not permissible, because it is expressly asserted in the record that light was made on the first day, or if not *made*, it is most emphatically declared that it did not shine upon the earth before that day. But this is not all. We have another objection, which is to us equally fatal to President Hitchcock's interpretation. It is this. The earth is declared, in the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis, to be "without form and void," empty, waste. The words are used to express utter barrenness and desolation. Did the earth then teem with delighted existence? Did the seas swarm with fish, and the land abound with animals, and the air echo with the songs of birds? This geological hypothesis and the words of

the record will not harmonize. We are aware that some critics have gone so far as to say that the Hebrew conjunction at the beginning of the second verse may be rendered "and afterwards" the earth was without form and void. So it is inferred that a long period transpired before the earth became chaotic, in which it had form and was not void, and then another long period after it became chaotic, in which desolation and darkness brooded over the wreck of our world. This criticism is too feeble to stand before examination. It is too clearly forced to require remark. One geological fact, however, may be stated, which shows that by admitting the criticism we only sink into a "lower deep" of difficulty. It is this. Some species of plants and animals now live upon the earth which lived before this supposed wreck of the world. How did they continue to exist and multiply during that interminable period of chaos and deathlike darkness? We think the abyss of difficulty is deepened by such critical conjectures. The Bible clearly describes the condition of the earth, between the creation and the fiat for light, as being chaotic, desolate, dark, uninhabited and uninhabitable. There is no foothold for the geologist, there is no theatre for all his animated existences and vegetable products.

That the facts of Geology are indisputable is acknowledged on all hands. That the earth existed, and was covered with vegetation and inhabited by animals, millions of years before man was created, seems certain, and is also acknowledged. It is likewise equally evident, that the popular interpretation of Genesis is directly opposed to these facts and to this long period of the earth's existence. What, then, is to be done? The popular interpretation must be abandoned, as it was in the case of the astronomical difficulties before stated. But what can be adopted in its place, *salve fide*, and still maintain the inspiration of the first part of Genesis? This is the practical question with those who believe that these chapters are inspired. Those who reject their inspiration have no difficulties in their way. They have only to say, "The old writer was mistaken." We do not deal now with this class of theologians and geologists. We address those who believe in the inspiration, the plenary inspiration, of these first chapters of Genesis,

and we ask, How can they reconcile the doctrine of inspiration with the facts of Geology? Not in the ways above proposed, we are satisfied. Both methods of removing the difficulty are surrounded with insuperable objections, and attended with apparent — may we not say real? — contradictions, as great, as real, as the original ones which they were designed to obviate. We cannot extend the six days into ages, each including a million of years; nor can we intercalate a gloriously carpeted earth and brilliantly garnished heavens, retaining their youthful beauty for millions of ages, between the first and third verses of Genesis. What, then, is to be done? We answer, no one supposes the account in Genesis to be a scientific account of the creation of things. Popular language is used to describe scientific truth, or rather popular language is used, whether the writer understood the scientific truth or not. A solid firmament, with windows, overspreads the earth, in which the sun, moon, and stars are set, and above which is an upper ocean. This was the popular opinion, and, according to the common interpretation, the writers were inspired to use this language in speaking of the creation of the heavens and earth. No person then living understood the scientific truth. The account contained a falsehood if it intended to teach men the true order and process of creation, and the nature of the heavens and earth. Hence most intelligent geologists who receive this portion of Genesis as inspired deny that it was any part of the writer's design to teach cosmogony to the people. His design was to announce that *their* God was the creator of all things, to that he was *one*, and that *polytheism* was a delusion, a lie. At all events, no one supposes that it was the purpose of the writer to give to the Jews a true, scientific account of the creation of the world. What, then, shall be said of this account? In reply, we would inquire whether Moses might not have been inspired, directed by God, to collect these accounts, (for the first chapters of Genesis are confessedly a compilation, and not the composition of the compiler,) for some purpose *entirely distinct from their scientific or historical value.* Moses had given to the people the law of God, and had announced that He alone was God, the Creator, Preserver, Lord of all things. As a confirmation of the

truth of his revelation and law, and as an inducement to accept it, he might be directed to collect the oldest accounts of the origin of things which were extant, to show that the fundamental principles of his legislation had the sanction of the earliest ages, and that the nearer they ascended to the beginning of things, the more nearly did the fundamental truths of theology correspond to those which they had received from his hand. He does not make himself responsible for the truth of the opinions or of the cosmological statements contained in the documents. He only says, by Divine direction, These old accounts show that later generations have gone astray from the primitive faith, and cannot claim for their religion and gods the antiquity which belongs to yours. The mouths of cavillers would thus be shut, and the respect due antiquity would be added to the Divine command to induce the people to regard the Law. Moses would be just as much inspired in this case as in the other. He would collect and arrange his documents under the special guidance of the Spirit. He would insert nothing which the Spirit forbade him to insert, and thus the account would be inspired in the sense that it was arranged and published by Divine direction and under the special guidance of the Spirit. God saw that it would be well for these old accounts to be preserved and spread abroad, and he directed them to be collected, not because of their historic, scientific verity, but for dogmatic purposes, to give to future ages the opinions of the earliest time. As far as giving these opinions is concerned, they are correct. Moses has correctly given them, but he has not vouched for their truth. Thus the inspiration of the writer is retained, while the scientific statements are considered only as opinions of the ancients. The reasons which induced the inspired collection of their early opinions may not be fully known to us. But we are confident that reasons can be found far more satisfactory to the religious and scientific mind, than the attempts which have yet been made to reconcile geological facts with the usual understanding of the statements of these chapters. Should our remarks fall under the eye of President Hitchcock, we would ask his attention to this hypothesis. For reasons which are satisfactory to the Divine mind, but which we may not be able fully to

understand, he directed Moses to make this collection of ancient opinions, and prefix it to the account of the Abrahamic race, not because it contained unmixed truth, but because the preservation of those opinions would be valuable to Israel and mankind. Let the President take this hypothesis, and follow it out with the candor and acumen with which he has labored on the other, and we are sure he will meet with better success. This labor will require no endeavor to reconcile modern science with the ancient record, to preserve its inspiration; but will only demand that reasons should be found in the contents of the collection and the condition of the Jews why God should have directed the *preservation* of such opinions.

But we must leave this topic, as we wish to make a few remarks on some other points discussed in the volume before us.

The common doctrine is, that physical death, the death both of man and other animated beings, was caused by sin. We are not aware that any theologians have gone so far as to maintain that the vegetable creation is subject to the law of decay for the same cause. We are sure, however, that they were not prevented from so doing by any absurdity in the opinion, or any difficulty, in their view, of maintaining it. It seems rather to have been an oversight than a choice. Geology apparently flatly contradicts this opinion respecting the cause of death, and it is necessary, therefore, to make an attempt to reconcile the popular interpretation and scientific truth. Millions of animals died millions of ages before Adam was created. There is no way of escaping this fact. It stands before this class of theologians as Apollyon stood before Christian. Some, of more daring than judgment, have maintained that God made these fossils in the rocks, that they never were parts of living animals, and hence that no death took place before Adam fell. But this class of interpreters is fast disappearing, and we should not be surprised if, in after time, antiquarians should theorize upon their opinions as they now do upon the fossils, and maintain that opinions so destitute of common sense were never sincerely believed, but, like Gulliver's Travels, were published to feed the credulity and amaze the stupidity of past generations. Pres-

ident Hitchcock does not belong to this class. Not he. The hypothesis which he seems to maintain has some symmetry and philosophy in it, and we do not remember to have met with it before. It is this. God foresaw that Adam would sin, and hence that death would enter into the world; it was therefore necessary, for the uniformity of his works and the final accomplishment of his purposes, that death should be universal, and therefore he commenced on the system which would have been introduced by the sin of Adam, so that uniformity is maintained from the first. Such is his theory, stated briefly in our own words. We object to this whole hypothesis the single consideration, that the Bible never attributes the death of the body to *sin as its cause.* But few will now deny that human beings would have been removed from the earth in some way if Adam had not sinned; and also that animals would have ceased to exist. It must have been so, for some animals were made to feed upon others. We admit that Adam is told that he shall die if he eats of the forbidden tree; but we know equally well that nothing is said about his *body's* dying, and that it is emphatically said that he was to die "*in the day*" in which he should eat thereof, which most surely he did not do, in the sense usually accepted; he did not cease to live as an animated creature. The *cause* of death to Adam is given in the nineteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; FOR out of it thou wast taken: FOR *dust thou* ART, and unto dust shalt [better rendered *wilt*] thou return." The record does not say he would return to dust because he had sinned, but because he *was* dust, and was made of dust, perishable materials. The passage in Romans v. 12, — "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned," — does not refer to the death of the body, as the connection most fully shows, but to spiritual death, from which Christ had come to save us.

If, then, Adam's physical death is not declared to be caused by sin, much less should we expect to find the cause of the death of animals in that act of the first man. There is certainly not a passage in the Bible which can be made, by any instruments of critical torture, to testify

to the doctrine that animals die or suffer on account of the sin of Adam, *since* he fell; much less can any thing be brought to show that for this cause they died and suffered millions of years *before* his fall. The true mode of reconciling Geology and the Bible on this point, is to let the Bible speak for itself, and not superinduce upon its words a meaning which they do not contain. God made man and animals mortal. Scripture and science both testify to this view. Sin may give death its sting, — may make it more painful and dreadful, — but it is not the cause of the dissolution of our bodies. It is time that this opinion was driven from the world, and science is joining with a sound interpretation of Scripture in hastening its exit. The popular opinion, that all physical suffering is the consequence of sin, — of Adam's sin in particular, — is doomed to pass away. The indisputable facts of Geology cannot be reconciled with it in any reasonable manner. The ground which we take is, that the Scriptures never attribute the bodily death of men to sin as its cause, much less do they attribute the death of animals to sin; and whatever difficulties may attend the interpretation of two or three passages of the Bible on our hypothesis, we submit that they are both fewer and less objectionable than those which so thickly beset the attempts to reconcile the popular opinion and the facts of Geology. The latter hypotheses are in some cases simply ridiculous. We remember being present, not long since, at the delivery of a "trial sermon" before a synod, in which the preacher — a geologist of some note, too — was endeavoring to harmonize his geological and Presbyterian creeds. That animals died long before the Fall was perfectly clear; that they fed upon each other was equally clear; and that suffering, pain, would exist, seemed also to be certain, but this he could not admit. He had not the genius to invent President Hitchcock's hypothesis, that a system of suffering was antedated to give unity to creation, and hence he was obliged to resort to such expedients as his inferior capacities enabled him to adopt. The system which commended itself most fully to his mind was this. God had given to all creatures such a high sense of the rectitude of his government and the perfect justice of all his ways, that pain ceased to be pain, suffering was deprived of its power by an all-per-

vading submission of the will to the Divine law; so that when the lion seized the hare and craunched his bones in his bloody jaws, the timid creature had such a deep sense of its obligation to be reconciled to the Divine will, and such a clear knowledge of the object of its creation, that the cracking of its bones, the tearing of its vitals, became an actual enjoyment for which it had a keen relish, a thrilling delight, —

> "So that the *pleasure was as great,*
> Of *being eaten as to eat!!*"

Of course this was satisfactory; for a man who could accept that would have no difficulty in receiving and inwardly digesting the Confession of Faith. He received the blessing of his brethren, and is now enlightening the world!

But to return to our author. He does not present his hypothesis as entirely satisfactory, but as one which to his mind appears attended with fewer difficulties than any other. He goes so far, indeed, in one instance, as to say, that "the death threatened to Adam may have been only the terrible aggravations of a departure out of this world, which have followed in the train of transgression." Very near the truth, if not exactly it, we think.

The other topics discussed in the volume are the "Deluge," which is supposed to have been confined in its action to Western Asia, where man resided; "The Eternity of Matter," which the facts of Geology seem to deny; "The Benevolence of the Deity," everywhere manifest in the past as well as present structure of the earth, and its adaptation to races of animals in its various conditions to the present time; "The Development Hypothesis," which is shown to be refuted by the testimony of the rocks and fossils; "The Unity of Design," seen through all periods of the earth's existence, and the various classes of animated existences which have inhabited it; "Special Providence," as revealed in the new creations which have from time to time taken place upon the globe; "The Vast Plans of the Deity," as seen in the illimitable ages in which he was occupied in perfecting the structure of the earth, and making it the abode of man; "The New Heavens and the New

Earth," as prophesied of in the elements which now exist capable of producing an entire change in the earth's structure, so as to render it the abode of the spirits of men after the general resurrection; "The Influence of Human Actions upon the Universe," in which we find Babbage's idea, that a physical record of all human acts is kept and will be read in the spiritual world; and, finally, "that the bearings of all science, when rightly understood, are eminently favorable to religion, both in this world and the next." We should like to give a synopsis of the views presented under these heads; but we have already exceeded our intended limits. Especially should we like to state our author's views upon the "resurrection-body." We cannot deny ourselves the opportunity of making one quotation and one observation. He says: —

> "It is not necessary that the resurrection-body should contain a single particle of the matter laid in the grave, in order to be the same body."

Our observation is, that then no bodies are to rise from the grave, but such bodies will be given by God as the spirit requires and as the future state needs. Much of the windy rhetoric, as contrary to good taste as to Scripture truth, which has been expended on this doctrine, will cease when President Hitchcock's view is adopted.

We intended to call the attention of our readers, and of President Hitchcock, should he chance to read our notice of his book, to his tendency to confound the evidences of Christianity with the evidences of the authenticity and inspiration of the account of the creation in the first two chapters of Genesis, and to so speak of the latter as to carry the idea that the everlasting Gospel of the Son of God rests upon the truth of the ante-Abrahamic genealogy and chronology and conchology. President Hitchcock goes so far in one place as to speak of a "geological objection to Christianity"! We frankly and boldly assert, that the account of the creation in the book of Genesis might have been utterly lost, or be in most parts entirely incorrect, and uninspired in all its parts, and still the evidences of Christianity remain intact. Nay, we will say more: had the whole of the Old Testament been utterly destroyed, it would still be easy

to prove the authenticity and genuineness of the New Testament. We must enter our solemn protest, in behalf of the Gospel, against confounding it and its evidences with the book of Genesis, or with Judaism itself. It would be perfectly easy to prove the resurrection of Jesus, if we had no account of the creation, or could not explain the account which we have, or even tell whether it is inspired or not. We insist upon it, as demanded by accurate reasoning, as well as by justice to the Gospel, that its evidences shall not be mixed up with any geological or Mosaical cosmogonies.

We take leave of our author, impressed with the vigor of his mind, the originality and freshness and clearness of his views, and the reverential spirit in which he has handled doctrines which, though erroneous, are sacred to very many in the religious community. His book is a suggestive one, and will bear reading more than once. The author has made a valuable contribution to the cause of science and religion. R. P. S.

Art. IV. — SCHLEIERMACHER.*

In the year 1850 appeared at Berlin the last of the long series of Schleiermacher's theological and philosophical works. This volume contains even less than those which preceded it from Schleiermacher's own hand, being made up, for the most part, of notes of lectures taken nearly thirty years ago. It is probably *das letzte Wort des Verewigten.* The works cited below have the rare merit of having been committed to paper by the author himself, and the first two exhibit a grace and beauty of style which we seek in vain in his other

* 1. *Über die Religion, Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern.* 5te Auflage. Berlin. 1843.
2. *Monologen. Eine Neujahrsgabe.* Neue Ausgabe. Berlin. 1848.
3. *Der Christliche Glaube, nach den Grundsätzen der Evang.-Kirche, im Zusammenhang dargestellt, von* Dr. F. Schleiermacher. (The references are made to the first edition of this work.)
4. *1ste und 2te Sendschreiben an Herrn Dr. Lucke, Werke,* Th. I. Band II.

productions. They contain the religious faith of Schleiermacher, and, considered together, have the advantage of presenting it in its most contradictory aspects. We propose to base upon them an estimate of his system and his claims to the gratitude of Protestant Christendom.

The best assurance that we have not undertaken a thankless task may be found in the words of the orthodox, but liberal Neander, that "the name of Schleiermacher marks an epoch of spiritual regeneration in the Church of Christ." Very many have found the fortress he has built *ein feste Burg* for their religious faith, the only defence tenable equally against supernaturalism and infidelity. Although his position was taken at a time when the course only of the speculative march was perceptible, and it was not yet well known that its weapons might be as dangerous to friends as to foes, — although the ramparts were thrown up and defended by the rebellious Pretorians themselves, — few strongholds have adhered to the cause so faithfully, and none have proved so safe and defensible.

It is only the repetition of an old experience, that every form of scepticism which has assailed Christianity with any effect has sprung out of the religion it attempted to overthrow, and has only been met successfully when its own weapons have been turned against itself. The transcendental philosophy is no exception. It is the legitimate child of the Protestant faith; it sprang out of her brain, armed in her defence. It has proved her most sharp, bitter, and persevering adversary. It became necessary that she should become skilled in the weapons of its logic and the phrases of its schools. It was necessary that some one in the camp should understand the language of the enemy, that she might learn their tactics, and make peace with them should an occasion offer. It is a service of which this is but the faint expression, that Schleiermacher has done for the faith in Christ. The Protestant Church, always turbulent with the conflicting elements of faith and reason, shifting from rationalism to supernaturalism, and offering a weak and divided front to the compact and unbroken line of her adversary, has found in him a reconciler of the discordant factions; he has sought to give her unity. He has sought to rear a platform of faith where all who take the

Scriptures as their guide can come together. Already his efforts are beginning to be crowned with success. He who founded no school, and desired nothing so little, is drawing all men after him by the depth of his wisdom and the sweetness of his piety. He did not write with a fitness of language limited to a nationality or a half-century; his "Dogmatics" will have a significancy for all time; even now they form a necessary part of every thorough course of theological study; learned professors comment on and explain them in their winter semesters at Leipzig and Halle; "Schleiermacherian" students go from the orthodox universities of Prussia to preach in her pulpits, and, with all the unavoidable dissent among his followers, which he not only allowed, but encouraged, Schleiermacher is at this day, through his works, the ablest champion of a division which extends throughout Protestantism. Eighteen years have passed by since his death, and the number of his admirers has been constantly increasing; of those who confess that they owe to Schleiermacher either the depth of their faith, or the fervency of their religious feeling, or the liberality of a catholic spirit. They will be found wherever fortune shall bear this volume; wherever the Protestant religion is preached, there the author of "The Christian Faith" is at home. The name of the translator of Plato is a household word to the students of the most profound of Greek philosophers, and perhaps at some future day the champion of the "faith of feeling" will rank by the side of the few choice spirits whom the world delights to honor.

Beside his great natural powers, Schleiermacher owed his efficiency to two influences under which his life passed at different periods, and which infused into his character two apparently incongruous elements. It was this fortunate combination that enabled him to appeal to his age so successfully. Born at Breslau on the 21st of November, 1768, of Moravian parents, he was educated, with reference to the ministry, upon Moravian principles, and for nineteen years of his life was subject to Moravian discipline. His mind received at this time durable impressions, and his course of life a permanent direction; and although, when he arrived at years of mature thought, he threw off the trammels of that sect, he never

lost his affection for them, and it is not to be denied that the world owes to them much of the fervency and beauty of that piety which glows on every page of Schleiermacher's productions. Later circumstances threw him under the influence of the most iron intellect of the age, the second of the four great lights of German philosophy, and the result was a character plainly compounded of Fichtean philosophy and Moravian piety.

In a touching tribute of veneration Schleiermacher has indicated the peculiar service the Moravians rendered him in his religious life.

"Piety," says he in his dedication to Gustav von Brinkman,* — "Piety was the maternal body in whose holy darkness my young life was cherished. In that my spirit lived ere it yet had found its proper province of action. She aided me, as I began to scrutinize my paternal faith, to purify my thoughts and feelings from the chaff of an earlier world. *She remained with me when the God and immortality of a childish period disappeared from my doubting eye.* She led me objectless into active life. She showed me how, both in success and failure, I should ever hold myself sacred in my individual existence, and through her alone have I learned friendship and love."

The Moravians deserved this high eulogy. The very atmosphere they breathed was religion. With a zeal that was almost morbid, they carried religion into the most petty details of life. Like our Puritan ancestry, they sought their amusements even in the offices of piety, and once a day they assembled for the reading of Scripture and the singing of hymns. Nowhere was the moral culture of youth so diligently cared for. Even before they could walk, they were carried to assemblies where they heard prayers and listened to sermons adapted to their comprehension. They were taught to sing, "I love my little papa, I love my little mamma, and brother, the little lamb; I love the dear angels, the little church, and my little heart." At a later age they were admitted to the *agapæ*, where they mingled gentle music with their religious meditations. Some of their hymns are devout beyond expression. They sought to strip death of its terror, and to make the anticipation of it as pleasant as possible. That one of their number was "gone

* *Reden.* Also Christian Examiner for March, 1836, p. 10.

home to the Lord," was announced by solemn strains of music. At the burial of the dead, the corpse was laid in the ground with the sound of instruments and the chanting of verses. The graveyard was a favorite place of recreation.

The pliant nature of childhood, receiving its notions of religious matters from sensuous impressions, must have been powerfully affected by such a discipline as this, for good or for evil. Happy was he who could retain its spirit of fervent piety after "the God and immortality of his childish period had disappeared from the doubting eye." Such was the fortune of Schleiermacher. Its narrow creed could not long satisfy his bold and expanding mind, and he had but little more than commenced his theological studies at the Moravian institution at Barby, when he abruptly broke off his connection with that sect and established himself at Halle. But the religion of his childhood had done its work. It had given him an aim in life, and an object which, through all those stormy times, he pursued with inflexible determination. He lived and acted for religion. His achievements in philosophy, his philological accomplishments, his powerful oratory and gift of extemporaneous eloquence, — either sufficient in itself to have won him distinction, — were all pressed into the service of religion. He used them only to give new vitality to the Church. What the Moravians had taught him to be in youth, he remained through life, and gave every energy of body and of mind to the promotion of a pure Christian faith.

Having passed through the usual course of study at Halle, and the usual tedious years of pedagogy which await almost every German candidate, he was ordained as minister in 1794, and, after a few months' service as an assistant, began his career as preacher at the Charité Hospital at Berlin, a position not likely to bring him into notice, since his audience was not of a character to appreciate his remarkable intellectual powers.

The six years spent at this place offer evident traces of the second great forming influence through which his character passed. It was at this period that the reputation of the great successor of Kant was at its meridian. His *Wissenschaftslehre* had just been published. The whole reading world of Germany was following with

eager interest the development of his wonderful system. His manly boldness had raised up enemies on every side. Even with the friendly government of Weimar he became at last involved, and was expelled from Jena on the charge of atheism. A fortunate necessity directed his steps to Berlin. The exile, whom no other German state would receive, found in Prussia a safe home, and in the king a kind-hearted friend. "I accord him willingly," wrote Frederick William, "a residence in my dominions. Is it true that he has fallen into enmity with the dear God? Let the dear God settle it with him. With me it makes no difference."

It is impossible for us to trace fully the consequences of this residence at Berlin. The great Idealist was thrown much into the society of the two Schlegels, who were at that time editing the Athenæum. With Frederick Schlegel, the author of Lucinde, he was on terms of the most intimate friendship. There is a letter extant, dated July, 1799, and addressed to his wife, in which he says: "I am now at work on the *Bestimmung des Menschen*. At half past twelve I hold my toilet, (yes! get powdered, dressed, &c.,) and at one I call on M. Veit, where I meet Schlegel and a Reformed preacher, Schlegel's friend. . . . . In the evening, I walk with Schlegel in the zoölogical gardens, or under the linden-trees before the house. Sometimes I make small country parties with Schlegel and his friends."

This letter has for us a peculiar interest, from the light which it throws upon the social relations in which Schleiermacher then lived. He was himself a contributor to the Athenæum. He it was, as yet unknown to fame, who is here spoken of as the "Reformed preacher, Schlegel's friend." We find him brought within the influence of Fichte's all-powerful mind at a time when he had entered the latest phase of his philosophic views, and while he was meditating the master work of that period. No one could come in personal contact with Fichte without the greatest enthusiasm for his genius and character. Schleiermacher never lost the traces of that intercourse. It was at this period, while he was daily listening to the conversation of Fichte, that he was preparing the most exquisite work on morality ever produced in the spirit of the Fichtean philosophy, and rivalled only by the *Be-*

stimmung des Menschen itself. Perhaps these interviews suggested to him a worthier object of labor than the fruitless translating of Blair and Fawcett.

It was the beautiful combination of these two elements in the character of Schleiermacher, that prepared him for the duty he immediately undertook, and insured his success. It was necessary, from the nature of the case, that Fichte should precede him; that the success of philosophy apart from dogma should be established, before he could give to dogma the dignity of an existence entirely independent on philosophy. This work, which it was his good fortune to complete, had already been begun by the pietists of a former century, of whose spirit he had received by inheritance. When, therefore, in 1810, he was called to a chair of theology in the new University at Berlin, whose plan had been drafted by Fichte, and whose organization marks an epoch of moral and political regeneration, and may be considered as the triumph of a religion which assumed to itself and subjected to its uses the philosophic elements of the age, the commission belonged to Schleiermacher already by the gift of Providence.

He had come out of Moravianism as if with the buried spirit of Spener within him, and the "faith of feeling" was destined to watch over the birth of the second, as it had already watched over that of the first, great school of Prussia. It was the loss of Halle by the peace of Tilsit that called Berlin into existence. The University at Halle had been founded in a spirit of reform one hundred years before that at Berlin, and fifty years before Count Zinzendorf planted his colony on the Hutberg of Berthelsdorf. The leader of this movement was the distinguished Thomasius of Leipzig. The heretical Dr. Francke, a favorite disciple of Spener, was called to a chair of theology. Spener was a fervid pietist and reformer. He was a hater of creeds, and a bold exposer of religious corruptions. He travelled from one end of Germany to the other, proclaiming his views from the pulpit, and by his *Pia Desideria* after a reform of the true Evangelical Church, he succeeded in setting the whole Fatherland by the ears. We have the authority of Menzel, in his "German Literature," for believing that "the faith of feeling, promoted by Spener, after it

had acquired popularity, immediately isolated itself in the Moravian sect, founded by Count Zinzendorf in the beginning of the last century, and so far ceased for a time to exert an influence on the Protestant Church." If, then, we have traced our Arethusa stream correctly, it is the same fountain gushing in successive centuries at Halle and at Berlin. The spirit which inspired Francke lent its influence to the moulding of Schleiermacher. The "faith of feeling," which seemed to have perished all over the world, had retired to the friendly protection of the Moravian Church, there to bide its time and to serve the world when an opportunity should offer. Its reappearance in Schleiermacher was the evidence of his divine commission to address his age.

As, however, such a commission is not one that would be likely to satisfy the powers that hold professorships at their disposal, we must rather seek the effective claims of Schleiermacher in the wide-spread reputation which the eleven years succeeding the first interview with Fichte had gained him. Our "Reformed preacher" had published his Discourses on Religion, Monologues, and Christian Ethics, had been made professor at Halle, had been driven from his chair by the French invasion, had received a pulpit in Berlin, and had preached most inflammatory sermons in the ears of the French Marshal. He was commended to the cabinet by his earnest patriotism and the fame of his learning and eloquence. Invited to enter a circle of the most brilliant men in the kingdom, he lost nothing by comparison with them. It was the fortune of that University to secure in the outset of its career three men who are called, in the language of the times, "epoch-making men." They were Niebuhr, Savigny, and Schleiermacher. Other men of distinguished merit, and second only to them, were united with them, and the University at Berlin assumed at once, in its first semester, that prominent position which it has ever since retained.

If we turn now to the condition of the society Schleiermacher was to appeal to and reform, we shall find it on the one side lost in formalism and the torpidity of a lifeless religious system, and on the other, as a natural consequence, incredulous and reluctant to become actors in a farce for the benefit of the state. It was the blooming

period of German poetry. Yet, to a certain extent, this was an influence which a reformer had to contend against; for the cold, unlovable, though idolized Goethe was not a man to satisfy the religious wants of the race, nor was the questionable morality of his life one which it was safe to extend to the sphere of less polished intellects, less discriminating tastes, and more ardent passions. "The Nazarene peasant may think himself fortunate," said the disciples of Goethe, "if he receives a condescending approval from the lips of our prophet."

The revival of philosophy, and the progress of metaphysical discrimination, was a marked feature of the times. The powers of the human mind were receiving a searching analysis such as they had never received before, and the ethereal speculations of such an intellect as Fichte's were uniting a pantheistic conception of God with a stoical morality, exemplified in a life which rose to the moral sublime. The divergence between philosophy and — not religion, but — Christianity was growing wider, and the times demanded a reconciler.

And, finally, it was an age of violent political convulsion and unparalleled domestic calamity, naturally predisposing men to return to those essential and fundamental truths of religion which are the sole possible consolation for many of the inexplicable ills of life.

To meet such a state of society as this, and to answer its wants, the mind of Schleiermacher was eminently well adapted. Religion had fallen into discredit, and was flippantly passed over to women and weak-minded men by those who prided themselves on the keenness of their wit, the temper of their courage, and their entire freedom from superstition. Schleiermacher refused to enter those more attractive walks of life where, all must admit, he would have shone preëminent, and bore into the service of religion a versatility of talent, a refinement of culture, in a word, a genius, such as was adorning the walks of literature, philosophy, and natural science. His personal character was likely to make the priesthood a respected and honored office. He was the Loyola of a sinking system, as energetic, as courageous, and as successful as the devoted Jesuit. There ran through his whole career a thread of singleness of purpose. The bitter opponent of false, and the earnest champion of

what he esteemed to be true religion, he threw himself in the path of the popular spirit of infidelity, and his first original words on the literary arena — words which will of themselves establish his claim to the highest rank in the world of letters — were those noble "Discourses upon Religion, addressed to Educated Sceptics." Schleiermacher was still a young man when he made this effort, and known to the public only as the translator of two volumes of French sermons, and as a contributor to the Athenæum. But the Discourses from the pen of the *Charité* preacher were one of those few instances in which such disinterested labors are repaid with tangible results. The author lived to see what he considered a transient pamphlet, "too much penetrated with the spirit of the times for permanent existence," take its rank among the classics of German literature. Near twenty years afterward, when the earlier editions had been completely exhausted, and the avidity of the public consumed two new editions in a single year, he remarked with some *naïveté* in his preface, that "the persons to whom his words had been addressed seem to be no longer before him." Conclusive proof that his efforts had not been without their reward.

Before these Gallios of Prussia, our young apostle of reform opens his mouth, and speaks with studied grace the honeyed words of conciliation. Whatever discrepancies there may seem to be between the works of this period and his later views, he persisted to his dying day that there is nothing in them he could wish recalled or changed.

The first chapter of the "Discourses" is one of "Justification."

"It may seem an unexpected effort at which you will wonder," he says, "if yet another demand of you, who stand so far above the common level and are so penetrated with the wisdom of centuries, a hearing upon a subject which you have neglected so utterly. I confess, too, that I see no reason to hope so fortunate an issue of my efforts as to win your applause; or, what would be more fortunate, to breathe into you my feelings, and an inspiration for my cause. For faith has never been every man's possession, and it has been always true that few only have known religion itself, while millions have amused themselves in various ways with the garbs it has consented to assume. The

life of men of letters in these times, however, is far from any semblance of religion. I know that you honor the Deity in your retirement just as little as you visit the forsaken temples; that in your dwellings no other objects of reverence are found than the prudent sayings of our wise men and the beautiful conceptions of our artists, and that humanity and social life and art and science have so fully occupied your attention, that you have no thoughts left for that eternal and pure Being who lives, to you, beyond the world. I know that you have made life on earth so beautiful that you require no eternity. You are convinced that nothing new can be said on this subject, which has been satisfactorily discussed by philosophers and seers, and, may I not add, by scoffers and priests. From the last, at least, you have no desire to hear. They have been long declared unworthy of your confidence, because they love best to dwell in the storm-beaten ruin of their sanctuary; nor can they even rest there quietly, without adding to the work of destruction. I know all this, and yet, impelled by an inward, an irresistible necessity, I must speak, and I cannot retract the invitation that precisely you should hear me." — p. 1.

Such a people required such a priest. Protestantism, eternally changing religion, needed him, for the great reformation which had led men back to the sacred writings again had fallen too much into a system of verbal criticism, a narrow adherence to the letter. "Life, life, some vital principle!" was the imploring cry of the religious world. Protestantism had none to give. The hungry and thirsty wayfarers found the fig-trees without fruit, and the cistern broken and without water, — deception all. It would seem that at such a time, and under such conditions of the moral atmosphere, scepticism is a natural growth, and by no means the sign of a diseased organization. So Schleiermacher considered it, when, without ranking himself with either of the great parties into which the theological world was divided, without appearing as the champion of a school or a sect, he led his readers back to first principles, and talked of religion as Plato might have done, or a Hindoo sage. From these first principles he conducted them slowly up to Christianity, as the most perfect form which the religious element in the human soul has ever assumed. The wisdom of his course was proved by the ease with which he thus obtained a hearing. It has not, however, escaped severe censure, and uncharitable inferences have been

drawn from it in regard to the author's views, that emanate either from the obstinacy of prejudice, or from minds that are not broad enough to grasp such a system as Schleiermacher's was, and the greatness of a commission which did not fear nor disdain to invade, in the service of religion, every department of human thought. He spoke to men who could not be indoctrinated on the instant in all the truths of a system which had slowly become part and parcel of his own nature. He was even drawn to them by a heartfelt sympathy with their aversion; for, like them, he could not receive a system which had nothing to offer but the dry husks of doctrine. Page after page glows with indignation at such a practical hostility to Christianity on the part of its professed friends, and with a heart warm with such a feeling as this, he takes the sceptic by the hand, and pleads with him. He uses the same kind of tact which the missionary on the Coromandel shore uses with the Hindoo. He employs the same privilege which Paul employs on Mars' Hill, where the man who was "all things to all men" speaks with more elegant and philosophic diction, and adorns his oratory with a quotation from a native poet. And we should as soon think of discovering a tendency toward Paganism in the author of Telemachus, as of accusing the author of the Monologues and Reden of that scepticism with which he so often manifests his sympathy.

These Discourses, addressed to a generation sceptical by instinct, devote their whole strength to the analysis of the religious element in the human soul, to its claims and culture. The ground they pass over lies *between* scepticism and Christianity, and bordering at each extremity upon both. They are discourses pronounced, as some one has said, in the outside court of the temple, not in the temple itself. But in them are the principles that are the life of Christianity, and without which it cannot survive a moment, and nowhere, we venture to say, have they been more completely analyzed, or more sublimely vindicated. In them religion comes to the elegant and refined in the garb of elegance and refinement. She ventures to take upon her lips the phrases of the schools. She appears in the groves among the astonished disciples, in the garb of an Academician. She

says, "Even here I do not disdain to come, for there is no place in the universe where I am not," and she reasons with them in their own language, and converts them with their own arguments. There is just that difference between these productions of Schleiermacher and the "Christian Faith" of his maturer years, which would naturally spring from the different ends they have in view, — a difference, not a discrepancy. There is, perhaps, in the speeches and letters of Paul quite as much variety. The truth is, that the coldness and dogmatism of the Church were just as repulsive to Schleiermacher as to the man who had been made by them an enemy to Christianity. He is sometimes put in a false light, because in those days his indignation toward a system which he conceived to be doing more harm than good induced him to use toward the Church the same reproaches which her most bitter enemies were using.

This very position compelled him to become a reformer, and his natural boldness made him a thorough and unsparing one. Unlike that obnoxious class who are adepts at pulling down and tyros at replacing, who undermine existing institutions only to look at the ruin with their hands in their pockets, Schleiermacher put up new houses for man's religious faith after he had been driven from the old weather-beaten domain. Strauss speaks of his labors as follows: — "In place of the roomy old castle, with its nooks and towers, its halls and corridors, in whose rich but uncomfortable rooms, with their old-fashioned furniture, we were daily growing more discontented, and whose wings, as they fell one after another, we were obliged to desert and abandon to destruction, — in place of this, there now stands a new pavilion at our service, built in the modern style, and furnished with equal convenience and elegance. No wonder that the old Rat's Nest (as ingratitude began to style it) was deserted by all its inhabitants, with the exception of a few old house cats, while all conveyed themselves to the new structure."

Apart from its levity and its disrespectful allusion to the champions of evangelical orthodoxy, the figure correctly represents the service of our reformer. Without raising a hand against the dilapidated structure, he drew his countrymen to the comfortable faith he presented for

their use, as swarming bees are drawn to a hive, or spring birds to their boxes. The egotism which makes fault-finding in church or state a hobbyhorse to ride into notice, was not in Schleiermacher. He gave men, at least, the chance of choice, and asked no one to give up what he had, if something better were not offered him. A worthy example for all so-called reformers.

Already, in the Discourses the characterizing elements of the system he proposes may be detected, giving point and weight to his words as he appeals to all the manly feelings and honorable sentiments of honest doubt. There probably can be no more hostile foe to religion than the conviction, that it is fashionable and manly to scout it; that it is as necessary to a gentleman to discard that weakness, as it is to be able to criticize the opera, or to dress in the mode; that literary culture and refined tastes are as incompatible with religious faith as with a boorish dialect or boorish manners. And this, as we have seen, was the state of things at that dismal period. It reminds us of those times Herder speaks of, when George Sabinus travelled in Italy. "The Cardinal Bembo put various questions to him about Melancthon, how many hearers he had, and what pay, — and by and by what he thought of the resurrection of the dead and immortal life. When Sabinus replied to him out of Melancthon's writings, the Cardinal answered, 'I should have held him to be a keener man had he not believed this.'" There were and there are now in the world thousands of miserable sceptics, for no other reason save the fear that this may be said of them. To such victims of dilettanteism the Discourses said, Are you quite sure you are not exposing yourselves when you raise this great outcry against religion? Are you not letting the world see how really one-sided and imperfect your culture is, since you have overlooked such an important part of your natures? It is against nature to eradicate it. It has claims to a place in the heart where there is warmth and sunlight, and you must loosen the soil about it, and give it such opportunities of growth as your intellects have, or your affections. Such was the opinion of a man who was himself a scholar and a philosopher, a man whose sympathies with the ultra tendencies of the age could induce him to write letters in commendation

of Frederick Schlegel's Lucinde in the same breath in which he appeared as the adherent and champion of despised Christianity! He separated religion from æsthetic culture, and taught the world, by its perceptions of the beautiful in art and nature, to be led to the reverence of virtue as the most beautiful thing in the universe. He separated religion from knowledge, and taught the world that she can minister only as the handmaiden of piety: she cannot even feed the fires that flame upon the sacred altars; she clears only the dim eye of the ministering priestess. He taught them that knowledge is like oil on the sea of religious emotion, which soothes the troubled waters till they give back the whole image of God, not a broken and partial reflection. And, finally, over all the objects of human culture, and as worthy the most attentive study of the philosophic mind, he places religion. On men of scholarly tastes, brilliant parts, and thorough refinement, — on these above all, religion has claims. She ranks high among the proper objects of philosophic speculation, and partial indeed is that man's development who has overlooked her rank and spoke slightingly of her importance.

In the course of half a century, these views have reached us from time to time, through different sources, and become familiar. In those days the position was novel, and it required a bold heart to clear away the ground to make room for it. It was defended with as much skill and courage as it had required to assume it. But not only on the side of the scoffers; it was open to attack from disaffected religionists, — from men whom, of all others, Schleiermacher could not endure, and against whom he opens the batteries of his most bitter sarcasm; from those men of the world whose Christianity is an outside garment, worn because it presents a respectable appearance and helps a man through the world, — to whom Christianity is a balance-wheel in the state, a restraint in society, — who support it on the same ground on which they support a company of firemen or of mutual assurance. Probably, if any men are hindrances to the spread of Christ's religion more than others, these are the ones. These are they who magnify little things into important matters, casual "coverings" of religion into essential principles. Every man knows what kind of Christians

these are, for in whatever society our religion becomes dominant they are sure to make their appearance. They are parasites of Christianity, as any thing in power has parasites, even the Marchioness of Pompadour, daughter of a peasant and pander of Louis the Fifteenth, and their support is about as valuable as that of the rest of their class. They use Christianity to keep the state in order and stocks at par, and no doubt find her very serviceable for that purpose. But so soon as this serviceable machine manifests any sign of vitality, and begins to think and act for itself, a great outcry is raised. Without tracing any more definitely these well-known lineaments, we will only say that such a class was to be found among the churches of Prussia, and that Schleiermacher thought he discovered in them the dead weight upon the heart of Christianity; oppressed by them, pulsation had almost ceased, and vital action almost departed. He drives them out of the precincts of religion, as Jesus drove the money-changers from the court of the temple. In the new system no nook or corner is left where they can take their stand and interrupt the meditations and prayers of piety by the noise of chaffering and the clamors of barter.

"Who hinders the spread of religion? Not you, not the doubters and deriders, even though you *would* prefer no religion, for it is at a later period in life that your influences find a receiving soil. You cannot destroy nature while she continues to generate piety from the inmost depths of the heart. Neither is it the immoral, as men generally suppose, who impede most the spread of religion. Her struggle and contest is with a very different power. The intelligent, practical men of to-day, they in the present condition of the world are the worst foes of religion, and their overpowering superiority explains why she plays so poor and miserable a part. Even from the tender childhood, they maltreat the nature, and suppress its aspiration toward the higher."*

And again: —

"The defenders of religion wish her to manifest her usefulness, — what humiliation! High honor for the free and untrammelled one, that she can sharpen the consciences of men a little, and make them a little more watchful. For no such purpose does

* *Über die Rel.*, p. 149.

she descend from heaven. . . . . I affirm that piety springs necessarily and of its own accord out of the depths of every good soul; that a peculiar province belongs to her in our nature, where she governs without hindrance; that she is every way worthy to be received by the noblest and most exalted, and to be assumed by them into their inmost being, and to be recognized by them."

In order to set before our readers the distinguishing feature of the Schleiermacherian doctrine, its view of the essential nature of religion, a little more clearly, we pass from the popular Discourses to the scientific Christian Faith. The clauses we quote are from the Introduction, and are the foundation theorems on which the superstructure is built.* The 8th proposition of the first book reads: "Piety in itself is neither knowledge nor action, but a disposition (*Neigung*) and state (*Bestimmtheit*) of the feeling." The 9th: "The common substance of all pious emotions, i. e. the essence of piety, is this, — that we are conscious of ourselves as absolutely dependent, i. e. that we feel ourselves as dependent on God." The 18th: "Christianity is a peculiar form of piety in its theological aspect, which form is distinguished from all others in this, that all things are referred to the consciousness of redemption through the person of Jesus of Nazareth." The 38th: "The recognition of the dependence feeling, as a condition of life, *takes the place with us of the proof of all being of a God, which finds no footing in our experience.*"

This was sufficiently subjective for the most ultra Transcendentalist. "In order," says the 6th proposition, "to understand in what the essence of Christianity consists, we must go out of Christianity and take our position above it." As in the Cartesian philosophy, every thing which has hitherto been accomplished by human powers is cleared away before we can find the little spot on which we are to take our stand. Grant us, then, one little principle, and God and the universe will be built for us in a new and more permanent manner. Let us suppose that, in the nature of man, as the eye distinguishes colors, as the ear receives sounds, as the intellect discerns truth, so there is a moral sense which discerns

* They are the *πού στῶ* in the religious experience of philosophers as widely diverse as J. D. Morell and Theodore Parker (Phil. of Rel., Ch. 3; Disc. of Rel., B. I. Ch. 1).

God, in other words, let us suppose that we have in *feeling* a form of subjective knowledge which corresponds to the absolute, and we have the keystone of Schleiermacher's dogmatic system. In this "*feeling*," we have the whole of religion. No practical side is conceded to it; no action springs from it; but, "While none springs out of religion, all should be done and accomplished with religion. The religious feelings, unbroken, like a strain of holy music, should accompany man's active life, and nowhere should he be without it." "If," said Hegel, criticizing this position with more severity than fairness, — "if religion consisted in the feeling of infinite dependence, the *dog* would be the best Christian." The reader can question his own consciousness whether there be no difference between the dependence feeling indicated by Schleiermacher and that of the lower orders of creation.

Schleiermacher was himself a transcendental philosopher of no mean reputation; but the main object of his speculation was, to rescue religion from the sweeping conclusions of that vague and uncertain philosophy. In the inner consciousness he wished to secure a point of tenure from the dashings of its yeasty waves for the beacon of religion, and he died in the belief that he had done so. All honor to the noble spirit that inspired his labors! At first a disciple of Fichte, he advanced further than Fichte had dared; — at one time, he almost stood on the identity ground of Schelling, and reached back a hand to the "god-intoxicated" philosopher of Holland. "Offer with me reverently," said he to the sceptics, "a lock to the *manes* of the saintly, rejected Spinoza. Him penetrated the sublime world-spirit. The Infinite was his beginning and end, the Universe his only and eternal love. . . . . Full of religion was he, and of a holy spirit, therefore stands he there alone and unreached, master in his art, but far above the profane guild, without disciples and without citizenship." * Yet it is one thing to praise the spirit and character of a philosopher, and another to become his disciple; and however nearly this exclusive mode of discovering the divine may border upon pantheism, however unsatisfactory it may be

* *Über die Rel.*, p. 48.

in its conclusions in relation to the Divine nature, however incomplete a view it may give us of the Deity, Schleiermacher was not a pantheist, — not in any portion of his life, — and those who dissented from him were unjust in styling him one. Even had he been led so far, in obedience to the convictions of his philosophic system, he would have been worthy our respect and reverence for his struggles to rescue the religious element from the dangers of that frivolous atheism toward which the current of speculation was at that time sweeping. The philosophy which Schleiermacher first received admitted no religion. It was by nature antipathetical to it. The *Bestimmung des Menschen* presents us a stoical morality, the *Anweisung zum seeligen Leben* an effort at religion. But what *affectionate* relations can there be toward a Deity of moral order, or what of that beautiful weakness before the Divine Omnipotence in the pitiless stoicism of Fichte! Schleiermacher did this for philosophy. On the one side, he had partially yielded his assent to an idealism the most thorough and sweeping the world had as yet seen, — an absolutism of the subjective self. On the other side, finding himself unable to accept its extreme conclusions, he had been compelled to return to the primitive system of Kant, which admitted the reality of an objective world. To reconcile the discrepancy between the two, he assumed a primitive substance common to them both, a substance in which the difference of idealism and realism disappears, an essence in whose nature the dualism of the world of our experience does not exist. It was precisely in this direction that the great philosophers afterward followed. But it is no more than fairness to acknowledge that the path never was trodden by Schleiermacher over the borders of pantheism. He did not hold, with Spinoza, that the divine substance enters into all finite things, and is itself composed of them. He held, on the contrary, that the world stands in contrast with the Absolute, and is in no sense identical with it.* With this absolute being, he held that there is no connection by will, or thought, or knowledge, or any other means, save through the feeling of dependence.

* See Chalabäus, *Entwickelung d. Phil.*, p. 217, 4th ed., who thinks this position involves a contradiction.

This was the impregnable position on which he wished to place religion, the warp of philosophy on which he wrought with such elegance and beauty. To return again to the more popular and oratorical expressions of the Discourses: —

"The universe exists in an unbroken action, and discloses itself to us at each moment. Each form which it produces, each being to which, according to the fulness of its life, it gives a separate existence, each event which it shakes out of its rich and ever-fruitful lap, is an action of the same upon us; and in these influences, and in that which makes its appearance in us through their means, to receive each isolated part, not for itself, but as a part of the whole, each finite not in its opposition to another, but as a representation of the infinite in our life, and to permit ourselves to be influenced by them, that is religion." *

This is what Menzel would call making religion "genteel and respectable." † We think nobody will deny our right to do so, if we do not compromise the truth. We should be unwilling to believe that the religion of Christ is not susceptible of being made "genteel and respectable," and that it is so constituted that it can make no appeal to "the cultivated," as Menzel seems to presuppose. The great fault which the Church has found with this theory has been its pantheistic tendency. She forgets that it was a plank of salvation to those who were being swallowed up in the idealism of the period. She forgets that the author himself expressly disclaimed all such views, and that he employed his best energies in diffusing doctrines totally incompatible with pantheism. The Church evidently misunderstood Schleiermacher. It is doubtful whether, so long as we have a Christian faith professed and exhibited in the life, we have a right to inquire beyond and ascend to the conceptions of the Deity. If we see the luxuriant foliage, and the flowers and fruits, why need we scrutinize the support to which the tendrils are clinging which we cannot plainly see? What is pantheism? How shall a subtile intellect which does for a devout heart the office of conceiving and defining escape that imputation? A base mind, which worships with the most devout and childlike faith, may

* *Über die Rel.*, p. 57.

† *Geschichte der Deutschen*, p. 1044, 3d ed.

find its god in an idol fashioned from a tree or a stone, or in a king reigning in the heavens, or in some indefinable majesty withdrawn to some distant quarter of the universe; but a finer intellect shrinks from the attempt to grasp and define an omnipresence. So closely does that vivid faith which sees God in every thing, to whose conceptions of divine oversight nothing happens which escapes its watchful care, which finds the hand of God in the revolutions of earth, in the growth and decay of the animal and vegetable worlds, in the mental development of the human race, in life and in death, so closely does it border on the language and conceptions of pantheism, that it is extremely difficult to draw the line of demarcation. The Christian who gives way to his religious emotions, and leaves the cares of the world behind him, and rises on the wings of prayer to an intercourse with God, does not for the moment, in respect to his emotion, materially differ from the Indian Sannyasi who strives to free his soul from corporeal influences, and bathe himself in the pure essence of the Deity. "*Glaubst du an Gott?* Believest thou in God?" says Marguerette. "My dear," replies Faust, "who dares to say, I believe in God? Who dares to name him, and to profess, I believe in him? Who feels and can bring himself to say, I believe him not? The All-embracer, the All-sustainer, does he not embrace, sustain, support thee, me, himself? Yonder does not the vault of heaven overarch us? Here does not the earth lie firmly beneath? Do not the eternal stars ascend, friendly glancing? Eye in eye do I not look into thee, and on head and heart does not the All press, and visibly and invisibly weave itself about thee in an eternal mystery? Great as thy heart is, fill it with this, and when thou art quite happy in the feeling, name it what thou wilt, — Happiness, Heart, Love, God. I have no name for it. Feeling is all. Name is sound and smoke veiling the glow of the heavens."

Whatever Goethe may have intended to illustrate by this magnificent passage, it is with a feeling akin to this that all finer minds shrink from passing certain limits, and drawing too near the sacred presence of the Godhead. There is a mystery about it, devout men cannot and will not ask to penetrate. And when they enter the

Divine presence, it is not with a curiosity which desires to analyze, but with a heart which adores. To them, "feeling is all," while "name is sound and smoke." They know, by the testimony of their yearning hearts, that God is, and they worship in obedience to the dictates of their own irresistible feelings. In such a spirit Schleiermacher wrote.

"It must seem natural that, as God is depicted in the conception more like man, an opposite mode of representation will more readily arise, a conception of the Supreme Being, not as a thinking and willing person, but as the general necessity, standing above all personality, and producing and uniting all thought and being; and nothing can be more unseemly than when the holders of one view accuse those who, frightened by their material views, take flight to the other extreme, of being godless, or when the holders of the other accuse their antagonists of idolatry, and declare their piety worthless on account of their gross conceptions. At either extreme we may retain our piety. But see how limited the Godhead is presented in the one, and how cold and dead in the other! And just as neither corresponds to its object, so neither can be any proof of piety unless something underlies it in the heart. Rightly understood, however, each represents an element at least of the *feeling*, and both are worthless if that is not there. Is it not evident that very many believe and confess such a God, and are nothing less than pious, and that this conception is never the seed out of which piety can grow, because it has no life in itself, but only receives it from the feeling?"*

At any rate, Schleiermacher's pantheism, if such it was, became harmless by retaining its conviction of our personal immortality and our personal responsibility. Nowhere can we find in him that destructive theory that death severs again "being and thought," annihilates our consciousness, and returns us without personality to the great source of being.

His theory of the origin and the nature of religion is the only one which is at once satisfactory and tenable. The world awakens every child of God to those aspirations which belong to a religious being. Everywhere man and the Infinite stand over against each other as sense and object, and religion consists in the constant

* *Über die Rel.*, p. 114.

admission of that object through its proper avenue into the soul. In religion, man is passive. The beauty of that diviner and greater presence engages him.

But it is not all of life to yield us unresisting to the gentle current of emotion. There is an inward necessity of our nature which drives us to action. There is a power of individuality which struggles against a passive surrender and asserts its entire freedom. Strangely compounded with this ultra pietism is a stoicism almost run mad. The Monologues, even more beautifully written than the *Bestimmung des Menschen*, are the echo of its principles. They need no analysis, and will submit to none. They must be read and felt. We commend them to all who admire sublime philosophy and exquisite composition, to all who lack the courage to assert their own independence, and the boldness to struggle against the world, and to refuse to be moulded by circumstances. From this point of survey self is every thing, and its sceptre has no limit. Want of self-reliance is the only sin, inward power and force of character the only good. Who will not admire this estimate of life?

"In every thing I hold *Freedom* to be primary, first and foremost. When I return into myself to contemplate her, my glance is no longer in the province of Time, and free from the trammels of Necessity. Every oppressive feeling of servitude gives way, the spirit perceives its creative essence, the light of divinity rises within me, and drives back the mist in which others sadly wander astray. And how I find myself again, how by contemplation I recognize myself again, does not depend on chance or fortune, nor on how many happy hours I have garnered, nor on what is furthered and established by my action, nor on how *the will has succeeded in its outward manifestation*, for all that is certainly not I, it is only the world.*

Thus far we have pursued the attempt to place religion upon an abstract basis which can be shaken by no conclusions of philosophy and no denial of historical events. Is there such a subjective ground upon which that which is peculiarly *Christian* can be established, where its inmost essence shall be safe beyond the reach of either rationalism or supernaturalism? The abstract principles assumed in the outset imposed upon

* *Monologen*, p. 15.

Schleiermacher the necessity of finding such a ground, and he has accomplished the task with great adroitness, if not with perfect success.

What is it that essentially constitutes Christianity? The comparison of the various forms of religion with each other shows them invariably differing in two respects, viz. in their historic origin and in their dogmatic form. In both respects Christianity marks itself out from all other religions, and we cannot surrender either of these peculiarities without endangering its existence.

Its life is so inwoven with some *facts* that are to it essentially true, that separate from these facts it ceases to be itself. The Christian history ascends to Christ, not to Mohammed, Socrates, or Moses, and it could not be transferred to any other person without destroying Christianity. It places at the head of its history Jesus of Nazareth, a being pure and sinless. Here is the limit of the essential. It is true that his life has been minutely depicted, and wonderful events narrated, which manifest his superhuman power; it is true that all the powers of word-painting, all the inspirations of prophecy, have been exhausted to present with brilliancy and effect the earliest period of his life, in which it is now an undoubted fact that we have little foothold of certainty. But all this is incidental. It does not touch the main point. Its loss would not affect the historical credibility of our religion. That religion is not connected with the person of Christ because of the good he did in Judea and Galilee, because of his sympathy with suffering, his kindness to the sick, his readiness to alleviate pain and assuage grief. These contribute to form a beautiful character, which is worthy of reverence, but they do not present the essential element of a religious faith; and the unity of the Christian Church centres not in the outward events of his life, but in the great office which he performed and is still performing for the human race. So small is the basis of historic truth that is left for science to tamper with.

In the next place, every religion evolves from itself certain peculiar *doctrines*. It is the law of its life to produce these doctrines. They come forth naturally, and bear the hue and beauty ordained to them and them only. They are not produced by reasoning from abstract

principles, but they are evolved by the religious consciousness trained under given circumstances and in certain social conditions. They present to us peculiar views of the relation of man to his Creator, each religion offering a different shade, as the prism offers a different ray according to the angle of incidence. With every change of that relation we have a change in human feelings, and a view of duty and life that is its peculiar product.

In this respect, the essential feature of a Christian faith* is to be found in the consciousness of our redemption by Jesus Christ, of a sinless principle imparted by him to the life of man, of our introduction to an entirely new relation to the Creator, and of our right to cast our faith upon a Deity at once paternal and lovable. This consciousness has no connection with history. It is imparted through the Church. But since it could not be the result of the reciprocal influence of imperfect men upon each other, it leads us back to the perfect Christ as its author. This office of Christ forms the proper conclusion of the speculations that have introduced us to it. It fills the vacant gap in the religious system we have been surveying. Erected by a Christian spirit, the niche which no philosophy could fill, like the window in Aladdin's palace, seemed to show that the power which raised was alone adequate to complete it. We have seen, on the one side, the divine nature swiftly expanding into the objective pantheism of Spinoza, and, on the other, the individual me in its proud isolation swiftly expanding into the subjective pantheism of Fichte. Here is a discrepancy which philosophy cannot reconcile. In the darkness of nature, conscience and self struggle with each other, and find but an imperfect reconciliation in sacrifices, purifications, consecrations. It was at a moment of history when all efforts had been made, and despair was beginning to supervene in the form of the coldest scepticism and the utter helplessness of a want of all faith, — it was at this moment, when nothing could save the world but a light from without, that such a light was granted. Christ came to bring the eternal life into quickening union with the soul of man, to bridge over the gulf that lay between the human and divine, to teach

* Comp. *Glb. Lehre*, Thl. I. sec. 17 ff.

man how to repose his weakness on the strength of God, and to reconcile the eternal abhorrence of sin with the constant love of a father. The words of the Apostle Paul, "God hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself," * present to us the great element of a Christian faith, a truth original and sublime. To receive that truth in the heart as a subject of faith and experience, to feel that Christ has performed this office for the world and for him, is the holy and happy consciousness which unites man with Christ and makes him his disciple.

He who completed that reconciliation, who so strengthened the consciousness of God in the breast of man, could himself have needed no reconciler. He must have been above the taint of mortal sin or weakness. Through his divine perfection he became the Saviour of the world. We vainly seek in history for the power to depict that character save under limitations. In the subjective consciousness, it shines forth radiant and complete. Thus Schleiermacher, accepting himself the Gospel accounts as entirely authentic, and zealously using his pen in their defence, sought to preserve for the rationalist a place by his side on the platform of Christian faith. Believing in the miraculous histories, he seems to have viewed them as instruments employed to establish a system which is now strong enough to maintain itself on its own merits. It was the *ideal* Christ that was the centre of his Christianity, with whose divine office the facts in history have the slightest possible necessary connection.†

Thus we have found our prophet to the last the reconciler between rationalism and supernaturalism. It was in view of the elevated spirituality of his doctrine, that Neander ‡ compared him with the English Coleridge.

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* 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

† Strauss (Life of Jesus, London ed., Vol. III. p. 417) has a clear analysis of this Christology.

‡ "Perhaps the impulse which the American mind has received from the profound Coleridge, who, like Schleiermacher among ourselves, has testified that Christianity is not so much a definite system of conceptions as a power of life, may have contributed, and may still further contribute, to prepare the way for a new tendency of scientific theology in your beloved country." — *Life of Christ*, Pref. to Amer. ed.

True, he had all of Coleridge's versatility of genius, but the elements of his character were far more stable and decided. He had a fixedness of purpose, the want of which caused the genius of the English philosopher to evaporate in pointed sayings. Coleridge has left little behind him save personal reminiscences and broken fragments. Schleiermacher, on the other hand, has become (in spite of himself, for, in his respect for individuality, he wished no servile imitators around him) the founder of a school in constant and vigorous growth. So wonderful were his powers of labor, that, beside the faithful performance of his professional duty, he has bequeathed to posterity many volumes of excellent sermons, many volumes upon Christian morals and history, many volumes of philosophical essays, and a complete translation of Plato! Though endowed with but a weak physical organization, and constantly struggling against disease, such was his strength of will, that, (we quote the words of an intimate friend,) "in labors and journeys, in official activity and social life, the body was always compelled to submit and to serve his purpose. In foot rambles he was ever foremost, at night the last in bed, and in the morning the earliest on the route. I have known him, when troubled with severe pain, to preach and lecture, and no one could perceive his suffering. I have often seen him in society late at night, the most cheerful and lively of all: it could not last too long for him, though at six in the morning he was to lecture or to preach." * This constant mental activity explains the amount of labor accomplished in his lifetime. His lectures cost him reflection only; and such was his wonderful command of language, that he entered his pulpit on Sunday with his subject only in his head, trusting to the occasion for his inspiration. None of his sermons were previously written. They have come to us from the hands of reporters.

This great man opened the week with an extemporaneous effort at early dawn, which drew crowds of eager listeners. The working days were filled with the duties of a parish, the catechizing of youth, lectures upon philosophy or dogmatics or exegesis, and those social en-

* Dr. Lücke, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1834. Christian Examiner, 1836.

gagements by which a prominent German professor draws around him his clique of devoted disciples. He bore up under a complicated burden of labors, either one of which would have been sufficient for an ordinary man, and nowhere was he satisfied with mediocrity. He excelled equally in all. His position as a religious reformer has occupied our attention, but so remarkable was the variety of his attainments and the completeness of his culture, that he presents a nearly equally interesting object of study as a philosopher, philologist, or exegetical scholar. H. D.

ART. V.—THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW ON ORIGINAL SIN.*

THE January number of the Christian Review contains an able leading article on the subject of Original Sin. This article takes strong Calvinistic ground, maintaining the thesis that "Sin is a Nature, and that Nature Guilt." But it has the high merit of being addressed to the understanding and reason. It is perfectly intelligible in its statements, and perfectly rational in its method of proof. We may see much reason to regard its proofs as insufficient, and to reject its positions as untenable; but we cannot complain of confusion of thought, or of any of those rhetorical or logical sophisms by which a subject is darkened rather than elucidated, and minds are mystified rather than convinced. It is joy to meet an antagonist who knows exactly what he means to say, and scorns to use arguments not wholly convincing to his own mind. This writer speaks because he believes,—not merely because he wishes to make others believe what he thinks ought to be believed. When the ancient positions in theology are defended anew by arguments of this tone and character, it seems proper for the organs of liberal theology to give such arguments attentive and candid consideration. This we now propose to do; as-

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* *The Christian Review.* Jan., 1852. Vol. XVII. No. LXVII. Rev. SEWALL S. CUTTING, Editor, &c. Art. I. *The Doctrine of Original Sin. Sin a Nature, and that Nature Guilt.*

suming the attitude, not merely of antagonists, but of learners; and proposing, not merely to point out the weak points and the open places of the argument, but to enrich ourselves and our readers by such new insight into a difficult subject as our contemporary may be able to give us.

After some introductory remarks, which it is not necessary to notice, the Reviewer lays down his first position, that Sin is a Nature. His statement is, that we all sin necessarily and continually in consequence of *our nature;* i. e. the character born with us, original and innate.

The proofs of this position are, — 1. The language of St. Paul (Eph. ii. 3), "We were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." 2. That we are compelled by the laws of our mind to refer volitions to a nature, as qualities to a substance. We cannot stop in the outward act of sin, but by a mental instinct look inward to the particular volition from which the sin came. Nor can the mind stop with this particular volition. There is a steady and uniform state of character, which particular volitions cannot explain. The instinct of reason causes us to look back for one common principle and source, which shall give unity to the subject; and having attained a view both central and simple, it is satisfied. As our mind compels us to refer all properties to a substance in which they inhere, so it compels us to refer all similar volitions to a simple nature. When we see exercises of the soul, we as instinctively refer them to a nature in that soul, as we refer the properties of a body to the substance of that body. 3. Christian experience proves that Sin is a Nature. The Christian, especially as his experience deepens, is troubled, not so much by his separate sinful actions and volitions, as by the sinful nature which they indicate, and out of which they spring. We are compelled to believe, as we look inward, that there is a principle of evil within us, below those separate transgressions of which we are conscious. There is a diseased condition of the soul, which these transgressions indicate. There are secret faults from which we pray to be cleansed. 4. The history of Christian doctrine shows that the Church has in all ages believed in a sinful nature, as distinguished from conscious transgressions.

These are the proofs of the first position, that Sin is a

Nature. We have stated them concisely, but with sufficient distinctness and completeness. Let us now examine their validity.

1. The first argument is the text in Ephesians, "We were by nature children of wrath," ἦμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς. The word φύσις, the Reviewer contends, "always denotes something original and innate, in contradistinction to something acquired by practice or habit." This text, we know, is the proof-text of Original Sin; and is considered by many commentators as teaching that man's nature is wholly corrupt. But plainly this is going too far. Granting the full meaning claimed for the word φύσις, the text only asserts that there is something in man's nature which exposes him to the Divine displeasure by being the source of sin. It does not assert the corruption of the whole nature, nor preclude the supposition that we are born with tendencies to good, no less than to evil. That we are so, the Reviewer is bound by his own statement to admit: for if this Greek word "always denotes something original and innate," it denotes this in Romans ii. 14,* which declares that the Gentiles "do by nature the things contained in the law." According to this passage in Romans, if there be such a thing as Natural Depravity, it is not total; and if there be such a thing as Total Depravity, it is not natural. Those who wish to maintain both doctrines can only do it by admitting two different kinds of sinfulness in man, one of which is natural, but not total; the other total, but not natural; — a distinction which we esteem a sound one. According to this passage (in Romans ii. 14), we must understand φύσις as referring to the good side of man's nature, and the same word in Eph. ii. 3 as referring to the corrupt side of man's moral nature. The first refers to the "law of the mind"; the second, to the other "law in the members" (Rom. vii. 23). But there is another passage (Gal. ii. 15), which asserts that the

* The *nature* by which the heathen "do the things contained in the law," i. e. obey God, which is here (Rom. ii. 15) called "the law written in the heart," is in Rom. vii. 23 called "the law of the mind." Olshausen (a sufficiently orthodox commentator) says, "It is wholly false to understand ὅταν ποιῇ of a mere ideal *possibility*; the Apostle speaks evidently of a real and actual obedience. Paul infers, that, because there are actually pious heathen, they must have a law which they obey." *Ad locum.*

Jews by nature are not sinners, like the heathen. Now, as we can hardly suppose that the original instincts and innate tendencies of the Jewish child were radically good from birth, and essentially different from those of the heathen, and as such a supposition would contradict the whole argument of Paul in Romans ii., it is evident that φύσις in Galatians ii. 15 does not denote something original and innate. The meaning of this verse probably is, that the Jew from birth up, and by the mere fact of being born a Jew, came under the influences of a religious education, which preserved him from many forms of heathen depravity. The word, therefore, means in that passage, not a Jew by nature, but a Jew by birth; and if so, we are at liberty, if we choose, to ascribe the same meaning to the word in Ephesians, and to understand the text to teach that we were by birth placed under circumstances which tended necessarily to deprave the character.

This passage, therefore, quoted by the Reviewer, does not teach entire depravity by nature, but a partial depravity, either found in the hereditary tendencies and instincts, or acquired by means of the evil circumstances surrounding the child from his birth.

2. The second argument of the Reviewer is, that the laws of mind compel us to refer sinful volitions to a sinful nature, as they compel us to refer qualities to a substance.

We answer, that, where we see uniform and constant habits of action, we are compelled to refer these to a permanent character or state of being. If a man once in his life becomes intoxicated, we do not infer any habit of intemperance, or any vicious tendency; but if he is habitually intemperate, we are compelled, as the Reviewer justly asserts, to look beneath the separate single actions for one common principle and source. But in assuming that this source is a nature brought with us into the world, the Reviewer seems to us to jump to a conclusion. It may be an acquired character, not an original nature. It may be an induced state of disease either of body or mind, a depravity which has commenced this side of childhood. We know that there are acquired habits both of mind and of body; otherwise, not only would it be impossible for a man to grow worse, but it would also be impossible for him to grow better, and there

would be an end to all improvement and progress. Such an acquired character introduces unity into the subject of investigation, as completely as does an original nature; and therefore satisfies all the wants of the mind.

3. A precisely similar answer may be made to the Reviewer's third argument, drawn from Christian experience. He is perfectly right, we think, in saying that the Christian is troubled, not merely, nor chiefly, by the recollection of single acts and volitions of evil, but in the evidence which they seem to give of a sinful state of mind and heart. He is right in considering any theory of Moral Evil shallow and inadequate which only takes into account sinful actions and sinful volitions. What earnest man, who has seriously set about correcting a fault, or improving his character, but has been obliged to say, "To will is present with me; but how to perform that which I will, I find not"? Every earnest effort shows us more plainly how deep the roots of evil run below the surface. We find a *law* in the members warring against the law of the mind, and bringing us into captivity to the law of sin. This is the description which Paul gives of it. It is a *law;* that is, something regular, constant, permanent, — a steady stress, a bias toward evil. The Apostle, however, differs from the Reviewer in placing this law, not in the will, but in the members: and also in stating that there is another law, that of the mind, which has a tendency toward good. In the unregenerate we understand him to teach that the law of evil is the stronger, and holds the man, the personal will, captive. In the regenerate, the reverse is the case. Nor does Paul teach that this sinful tendency is guilt. It is not "O *guilty* man that I am!" but "O *wretched* man that I am!"

Now, while we agree with the Reviewer in rejecting as superficial and inadequate any theory of Evil, whether emanating from our own denomination or from any other, which does not recognize this evil state or tendency lying below the volitions, we differ from him in that we think it not always a nature, but a character. He has not proved, nor begun to prove, that this dark ground of evil in man is always innate or original. It may or may not be; but the argument from Christian experience shows nothing of the sort.

4. The Reviewer's fourth and remaining argument is, that the Church has, in all ages, believed in a sinful nature as distinguished from conscious transgressions. If this were so, we admit that it should have weight in the inquiry; but we deny the fact so far, at least, as the sinful nature is concerned, and may give reasons hereafter for this opinion.*

The Reviewer proceeds thus: "Assuming, then, that the fact of a sinful nature has been established, we pass to the second statement of St. Paul, that man is by nature a child of wrath. We pass from his statement that Sin, in its ultimate form, is a Nature, to his statement that this Nature is Guilt." If we have done justice to the Reviewer's arguments, — and it has been our object to state them fairly, though briefly, — we submit that the fact of a sinful nature has not been established by them. He has shown that in man there is a tendency to evil running below the conscious, distinct volitions, — that there is a permanent character, good or evil, which manifests itself and becomes first apparent to ourselves, or to others, in these separate, spiritual exercises or actions. But that this stress either to good or evil, this law either of the mind or members, is original and inborn is yet to be proved. Let us then consider the second point, namely, whether this character or nature, whichever it may be, is also Guilt.

1. As the Reviewer's first argument to prove a sinful nature was drawn from the Greek word φύσις, so his first argument to prove that Nature Guilt is derived from the Greek word ὀργή in the same passage. "The Apostle teaches," he says, "that sinful man is a child of wrath.

* We have no room to enter into an examination of this question at this time, and can only give a general statement on this subject from one of the authorities which happens to be at hand: —

"*All* the Fathers" (before Augustine, fourth and fifth century) "differed from Augustine, in attributing freedom of will to man in his present state. Thus Justin: 'Every created being is so constituted as to be capable of vice or virtue.' Cyril of Jerusalem: 'Know that thou hast a soul possessed of free will; for thou dost not sin by birth (κατὰ γένεσιν), nor by fortune, but we sin by free choice.' *All* the Latin Fathers also maintained that free will was *not* lost after the Fall. The Fathers also denied in part, that man is born infected with Adam's sin. Thus Athenagoras says in his Apology: 'Man is in a good state, not only in respect to his Creator, but also in respect to his natural generation.'" — Wiggens, *Augustinism and Pelagianism*. Translated by Rev. Ralph Emerson, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

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Now none but a guilty being can be the object of the righteous and holy displeasure of God." But this word, translated *wrath*, is confessedly used in other senses beside that of the Divine anger or displeasure. It may mean the sufferings or punishments which come as the result of sin, in which sense it is used in Matt. iii. 7, "Who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" and other places. This word is used in the passage just quoted for some future evil; in John iii. 36, for a present evil, — "The wrath of God abides on him"; and in 1 Thess. ii. 16, for a past evil, — "For the wrath is come [lit. *has* come] on them to the uttermost." It may mean the subjective feeling of guilt; the sense that we deserve the Divine displeasure, which is removed by the assurance of forgiveness. It may mean the state of alienation from God, which results by a law of the conscience from this sense of guilt, — an alienation removed by the Divine act by which God reconciles the sinner to himself. And the radical meaning, from which these secondary meanings flow, may be the essential antagonism existing between the holy nature of God and all evil. But whatever it means, it cannot intend any thing like human anger. In the Divine wrath there is neither selfishness nor passion; and it must consist with an infinite love towards its object. The word, therefore, as used in Eph. ii. 3, does not convey the idea of guilt, *a vi terminis*. It may mean as well, that this sinful tendency in man, manifesting itself in sinful actions, produces a state of estrangement or alienation between man and God. How far this is a guilty alienation, and how far it is evil and sorrowful, is not to be learned from the term itself.

2. But the main proof of the Reviewer in support of his second position is found in the assertion, that this sinful tendency in man, out of which evil acts continually flow, is not a tendency of the physical nature, but of the will itself. He distinguishes the will proper from the mere faculty of single choices, and considers it to be a deeper power lying at the very centre of the soul, which determines the whole man with reference to some great and ultimate end of living. It is, in fact, the man himself, — the person. For man, he asserts, is not essentially intellect or feeling; but is essentially and at bottom

a Will, a self-determining creature. "His other faculties of knowing and feeling are grafted into this stock and root; and hence he is responsible from centre to circumference." He then affirms the Will, thus defined, to be the responsible and guilty author of the sinful Nature; being nothing more nor less than its constant and total determination to self as the ultimate end of living. This voluntary power, which is the man himself, has turned away from God and directed itself to self as an ultimate end; and this state of the Will is the sinful Nature of man.

We have no disposition to quarrel with the psychology of this statement. We admit man to be essentially Will, in the sense here described. He is essentially Activity; an activity limited externally, by special organization and circumstances, — limited internally, by quantity of force, and knowledge.

Nor, again, do we deny that in the unregenerate state the will of man is directed to self rather than to God as its ultimate end; and that this is guilt, and in a certain sense total guilt. No man can serve two masters. If he is obedient to one, he is necessarily disobedient to the other. This disobedience may, or may not, appear in act; but it is there in state. He whose ultimate end is self-gratification is always ready to sacrifice the will of God to his own. He whose ultimate end is God is always ready to sacrifice his own will. In this sense, the unregenerate man may be said to be wholly sinful; and he who is born of God, not to commit sin.

Thus much we grant; and the admission is a large one. But we must now object to the Reviewer, that this is but one side of the question; and that he has omitted to see the other side. The sources of evil are not so simple as he seems to suppose; for man is a very complex being, and the world in which he lives is a very complex world. We therefore would inquire, —

What proof have we that this guilty direction of the Will is *a Nature*, in the sense claimed; i. e. something innate or original? Why may not the Will have been turned gradually in this direction as we grow up, by enticements of pleasure; and why might not the Will, in like manner, by means of wise culture, have been gradually directed to God?

Again, what proof have we that we are so wholly *unconscious* of this direction of the Will, as our author contends? That a great many of the acts of the Will are unconscious acts, like the separate movements of the finger in a skilful pianist, or lifting of the feet in walking, we admit; and we are not responsible for these separate acts, but for the *preceding choice*, by means of which we determine to play the tune, or walk the mile. In like manner, the direction of the soul to self rather than to God may be moral evil; but is not moral guilt, until we become conscious of it, in a greater or less degree. Then, when partially or wholly awakened to the evil direction of the soul, if we allow ourselves to neglect this discovery, to turn away from the fact and forget it, on that conscious act presses the whole burden of guilt, and not on the unconscious volitions which may result from it. We say, therefore, in opposition to the Reviewer, that though there may be depravity without consciousness of the depraved state, there cannot be guilt without consciousness of the evil choice, or, as the Apostle says, "Sin is not imputed where there is no law."

Again, we totally dissent from the statement that this deep-lying will in man is unable to obey the commands, "Turn ye, turn ye, from your evil way, for why will ye die," — "Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out," — "Make you a new heart and a new spirit," — "Choose you this day whom you will serve," — "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved." The Reviewer says, that "such a power as this, including so much, and running so deep, which is a determination of the whole soul, cannot, from the very nature of the case, be such a facile and easily managed power as that by which we resolve to do some particular thing in every-day life." True: not *so* easily managed; but can it not be managed at all? It may require *more* self-examination to understand what the direction of the Will is, and more concentration of thought and will, and more leaning on God's help; but *with* all these are we able or not able to turn to God? He says, the great main tendency of the Will to self and sin as an ultimate end, though having a free and criminal origin, "is not to be reversed so easily." True, again; but why not *less* easily? The Reviewer speaks of the sinful Will as a

"total determination of itself to self"; and asks "how the power that is to reverse all this process can possibly come out of the Will thus shut up, and entirely swallowed in the process. How is the process to destroy itself?" But what! Has man become *a process?* He is essentially Will, but is this Will blind mechanism? Has it not, according to our author's own theory, intelligence, conscience, affection, rooted into it? The moment that the Reviewer begins to speak of the Will, as unable to change its direction, he is compelled to conceive of it materially and mechanically, and not as the moral, responsible soul. He says, "The human Will becomes a current that becomes unmanageable, simply because of its own momentum." And therefore, again, he is obliged to conceive of the whole voluntary power as lost; and lost before man was born; and he reduces all our real freedom to the original act of the Will previous to birth, which took place when we were present in Adam's soul, and committed the first transgression with him.

This is plainly the denial of all human freedom since the fall of Adam. We bring into the world, according to the Reviewer, a Will wholly and inevitably bent to evil. We have no consciousness of this tendency, and if we were conscious of it we have no power to change it; but we yet are responsible for it, and guilty because of it, inasmuch as we began this state ourselves when all our souls were mystically present in the soul of Adam. Of this theory, we merely say now, that, if it be true, man is not *now* guilty of any sin which he commits in his mortal life; for he is not now a free being. He is only responsible for the sin which he freely committed in Adam. He is no more responsible when we suppose his sin to proceed from his will, than when we suppose it to proceed from a depraved sensuous nature, or from involuntary ignorance, for he is no more free in the one case than in the other. He may be an infinitely depraved and infinitely miserable being, but he can in no true sense be called a *guilty* being. Again we say, if this theory be true, it is an awful theory; and one which we cannot possibly reconcile with the justice or goodness, and still less with the fatherly character, of God. That God should so have constituted human nature that

all the millions of the human race should have had this fatal opportunity of destroying themselves utterly, by one simultaneous act, in Adam, is, to say the least, an *awful* theory to propound concerning our Heavenly Father. We might put Christ's argument to any man not hardened by theological study, as it seems to us, with irresistible force. "What man is there among *you*, BEING A FATHER," who could do any thing of this sort. But we know too well that all such appeals fall harmless from the sevenfold shield of a systematized theology.

Therefore, we will only say further, concerning this theory, that, as being *apparently* in direct conflict with the Divine attributes as taught in the New Testament; as making man a mere process deprived of real freedom; as proving man not guilty for any sin committed in this life; and as thereby deadening the sense of responsibility and showing that we cannot possibly obey the command, "Repent and turn to God," — this theory of a sin committed in Adam *ought to have the amplest proof* before we believe it. We admit that it may be true, though opposed to all our ideas of God, man, and duty. But being thus opposed, it ought to be sustained by the most unanswerable arguments. If Jesus and his Apostles have told us so plainly, we must believe it if we can. How is it, then. Not a word on the subject in the four Gospels. Not a text from the lips of Jesus which can be pretended to lay down any such theory. He does not even mention the name of Adam once in the Gospels, nor allude to him except when speaking of marriage. This theory rests, not on any thing contained in the Gospels, Book of Acts, or Epistles of Peter, James, or John; but on two texts in two Epistles of Paul (Rom. v. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 22). In the latter passage Paul says not a word of Adam's sin, but only of his death, — the whole chapter treating, not of sin, but of death and the resurrection. This passage, therefore, can hardly be considered a plain statement of the theory. The other, in Romans, is confessedly so far from plain, that it is difficult to make it agree with any theory; but the most evident meaning, to one who has no theory to support, is, that sin began with Adam, and the consequences of sin, which are moral and physical evil, began also with him; and as he thus set in motion a series of evil tenden-

cies which we find in our organization, and which Paul elsewhere calls the law of the members, and a series of evil circumstances which we find around us in the world, both of which are the occasion of sin, we may trace back to him the commencement of human disobedience. If the passage teaches any thing more than this, it certainly does not teach it plainly or explicitly.

We have thus briefly examined the Reviewer's doctrine that "Sin is a Nature, and that Nature Guilt"; and have given a few, but, as it seems to us, sufficient reasons, for rejecting it. There is a strong antecedent improbability resting against it from the attributes of the Deity. It contradicts primal convictions of the human reason, which assert human freedom and a present responsibility inseparably connected with it. And it rests on no plain or adequate basis of Scripture declaration. Yet, in rejecting it, we are obliged to ask, Why is it that earnest thinkers and Christians, like our Reviewer, should be moved to assert such an argument? What is the motive which leads men, good and thinking men, to believe in Original Sin and Total Depravity? We cannot set aside this question, if we desire to make any real progress in this theological inquiry. Some truths, some facts, something real and important, must lie behind these doctrines and be involved in them, or they could not have been believed so widely and defended so ardently. Connected with the formal error, there must be some substantial truth. And the law of human progress requires that, for the overthrow of any false system or evil institution, the truth and the good involved in it shall be first recognized, extricated, and accepted. Then the remainder of error will fall of itself. Here, it seems to us, is one of the directions in which discussion may be most profitably carried on between sincere believers in doctrines seemingly irreconcilable.

This question we may attempt to answer, therefore, on another occasion.

J. F. C.

Art. VI. — THOMAS HOPKINS GALLAUDET.*

We are glad of an opportunity of placing upon record in our journal a name second to no other in the annals of unostentatious and successful benevolence, — we mean the name of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. We welcome the tribute to his memory in the form of the comely volume whose title is given below. There could have been found no worthier eulogist of the departed philanthropist than Mr. Barnard, whose sympathies and abilities have, for many years, been given to the cause of popular education, and whose intimacy with Mr. Gallaudet opened to him the treasures of understanding and heart which his "Tribute" spreads before the world.

The eulogy is earnest, tender, and appreciative, but is in no wise exaggerated. On the contrary, it undercolors, if any thing, the extraordinary excellences of its subject. Its quiet flow is in keeping with the gentle character whose qualities it delineates. It is a model of performances of its kind.

Mr. Gallaudet's name is the nucleus of all historic accretions on the subject of deaf-mute instruction in this country. And this is made to appear in the volume under review. The Appendix is exceedingly valuable, containing, as it does, a complete, though succinct, history of the origin and growth of deaf-mute institutions in Europe and in the United States, with collateral and illustrative matters of no inferior interest.

We hope the book may find an extensive circulation; and more especially, because the net profits from its sale are for the benefit of her † in whose name the copyright stands.

We propose to give a brief sketch of the life of the subject of this article, and to append some remarks upon two or three of his prominent characteristics.

Mr. Gallaudet was born in the city of Philadelphia, on

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* *Tribute to Gallaudet. A Discourse in Commemoration of the Life, Character, and Services of the* Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, LL. D., *delivered before the Citizens of Hartford, January 7, 1852. With an Appendix, containing a History of Deaf-Mute Instruction and Institutions, and other Documents.* By Henry Barnard. Hartford: Published by Brockett & Hutchinson. 1852. 12mo. pp. 263.

† The deaf and dumb widow, Mrs. Sophia Fowler Gallaudet.

the 10th of December, 1787, of Huguenot and Puritan parentage. The family removed to Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1800. Mr. Gallaudet was graduated at Yale College in 1805. Here he gave evidence of those moral and intellectual qualities which so marked his after career. He was genial in temperament, scrupulously punctual and accurate in his college exercises, and especially proficient in mathematics and English composition. After leaving college he entered a law office in Hartford; but his delicate health obliged him to relinquish his legal studies. Afterwards, he was for a while tutor in Yale College; but his failing health again compelled him to a less sedentary employment, and he undertook a business commission, which gave him the advantages of exercise, open air, and travelling. Subsequently, he entered, as clerk, a counting-room in the city of New York. But no one of these vocations was precisely to his taste, although in any of them he could not but have been distinguished.

In the autumn of 1811, he commenced the study of theology at Andover; and after the usual course of preparation, broken and obstructed by indisposition, he was licensed to preach. In the pulpit, he was eminently successful. His meek, earnest, and devout manner, the simplicity and fervor of his prayers, his clear, admirably worded, practical discourses, and his voice, persuasive without being musical, brought his services at once into high estimation and general demand.

It would seem as if the pastoral vocation was that of all others suited to his powers and character; for with the gifts above specified he united in a singular degree that quickness of sympathy and tenderness of manner, so rarely met with, yet which are indispensable to the power of personal intercourse in the ministerial profession. But Providence designed another field for him.

His acquaintance with "little Alice Cogswell," a deaf mute, daughter of a distinguished physician in Hartford, aroused his interest in a class of unfortunates, for whose education in this country no provision had ever been, or seemed likely to be, made. His singular talent in imparting knowledge to her secluded mind, and in unfolding her faculties, induced her father to relinquish his idea of sending his child abroad for instruction, and to con-

sider whether a school for deaf mutes might not be established nearer home.

The subject met favor with the wealthy and philanthropic merchants of Hartford. It was determined to send a suitable person to Europe, to learn the methods of deaf-mute instruction, preparatory to the establishment of a school in this country. Mr. Gallaudet was by common consent appointed to this mission.

On the 20th of May, 1835, he sailed for England. The history of his unsuccessful efforts to obtain admission into either the London or the Edinburgh institution, as a pupil, is exceedingly interesting. The beneficent art of deaf-mute teaching seems then to have been regarded as special property. Its promiscuous diffusion was guarded by personal jealousy and private interest. Bonds had been given, in heavy sums, that the magic secret should not go beyond its first recipients. So Mr. Gallaudet was obliged to turn elsewhere for light. Fortunately, French benevolence was not so restricted. The Abbé Sicard, who happened to be in London at this time, lecturing on the methods of deaf-mute instruction, received Mr. Gallaudet cordially; invited him to visit Paris, and avail himself, without fee, of the advantages of the deaf-mute school in that city.

After a short stay in Paris, Mr. Gallaudet returned to this country, bringing with him Mr. Laurent Clerc, one of the Abbé Sicard's most distinguished pupils; who was associated with Mr. Gallaudet in the labors of deaf-mute instruction in the "American Asylum," and who is now one of the most valuable of its excellent corps of teachers.

Some two years were spent after Mr. Gallaudet's return, in obtaining subscriptions and maturing preparations for the permanent establishment of an American Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. On Wednesday, the 15th of April, 1817, the Asylum was opened with a class of seven pupils; and on the Sunday evening following, Mr. Gallaudet delivered a discourse in the Centre Congregational Church, from the words of Isaiah, "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing, for in the wilderness waters shall break out, and streams in the desert."

Concerning this discourse, Mr. Barnard says, beautifully: —

"On rising from a fresh perusal of this admirable discourse, written in such pure, polished, and idiomatic English, and breathing so much of the spirit of Him, by whose miraculous agency the ears of the deaf were opened and the tongue of the dumb loosened; and contrasting that group of seven pupils, ignorant, isolated, and unhappy, and the moral desert in which the deaf and dumb then dwelt, with the thousands of the same class who have since been cheered and blessed, and all the good, direct and indirect, to the cause of Christian philanthropy, which has flowed out of these small beginnings, — we seem almost to stand at the well-spring of that river of life, seen in the vision of the prophet, which, flowing out from beneath the sanctuary and on the right hand of the altar into the wilderness, a little rill that could be stepped over, widened and deepened in its progress, till it became a mighty stream, — a stream which could not be passed, imparting life wherever it came, and nourishing all along its banks trees, whose fruit was for meat, and whose leaves for medicine."

Mr. Gallaudet remained Principal of the Asylum until 1830, when, on account of infirm health, he resigned his position. With respect to his agency in the establishment of this most successful and beneficent institution, his eulogist says: "It is instinctively and universally felt that the directing mind in this great enterprise, in its inception, its gradual maturing, and ultimate organization, was that of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet." In testimony of his success in this important position, we need only refer to the unstinted approbation of the Directors of the institution, and of the whole community, and to the grateful regard of successive classes of pupils.

After Mr. Gallaudet's resignation, he employed himself for some years in the preparation of books for children, in which department of most useful labor we think he has never been excelled, if equalled. He did not make books *to sell.* He did not re-shape and re-name other men's ideas, but he drew his pages from his own stores of observation and of thinking. He had a practical reason for the views, methods, and suggestions which he urged upon his readers. His ruling motive in publishing was the benefit of others.

On the 6th of June, 1836, Mr. Gallaudet accepted the

appointment of chaplain in the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane. It is not easy to find one in all respects competent to discharge the delicate duties of such a position. But Mr. Gallaudet was fully equal to its requirements. He won the unreserved confidence and the entire affection of the patients in the institution. His tact was inexhaustible. His patience was never wearied. His tenderness never lapsed. His conscientiousness was distinct and controlling through all and to the end.

Mr. Gallaudet remained connected with the "Retreat" until his death, on the 10th of September, 1851, when, after a wearisome sickness of forty-six days, during most of which time his mind was remarkably clear and active, "his spirit passed away so gently that the precise moment was unmarked."

> "They thought him dying when he slept,
> And sleeping when he died."

There are two or three points of Mr. Gallaudet's character on which we cannot forbear dwelling awhile; and as the first, because at the root of his varied excellence, we mention his *religious faith.*

There are those, doubtless, to whom this phrase brings only vague images, and intimates most uncertain results. But not if the thing it signifies were a solid substance before the eye, or a ball of lead within the hand, could it be a more palpable reality than as it appeared in Mr. Gallaudet's character. It was the pulsation of his heart. It was the inspiration of his life. We have never known one who cast himself with a more grateful and joyous trust into a reliance on the Creator's will. Among the manifest facts of his daily experience, which shaped his judgment, affected his sensibilities, determined his conduct, the fact of an overruling Providence was real and decisive; not theoretically established, but instinctively felt. His doctrinal opinions were orthodox, and not only this, but thoroughly and rigidly orthodox; of a stamp too inflexible, perhaps, for the full approval of what is sometimes called the New England school of Evangelicalism. Yet strange to say, this strict theology was, in Mr. Gallaudet, divorced from almost, if not quite, all those accompaniments so repulsive to minds and hearts trained under a more liberal system of Scripture interpretation.

We have said, this is strange; for, in the instance of our revered friend, his doctrinal views were not loosely held, or lightly prized, or believed to be other than vitally operative. He never said, and he never felt, that it is no matter what a man believes, provided he is sincere, — that common cant of spurious liberalism. So that the unwrinkled beauty, the unembittered sweetness, of his Christian character and affections, are not due to the fact that he was indifferent to the "saving doctrines" of the Gospel. But are we not justified in applying the word "strange" to this phenomenon of Christian gentleness and toleration, when it is so common to find those who stand professionally on that theological platform imperious in their assertions, grudging in their admissions to an antagonist, denunciatory in their doctrinal expositions, supercilious in demeanor, and socially exclusive toward those whom they consider in error, — at all events, ungenial and unbrotherly at heart, with whomever they suspect of "heresy" or latitudinarianism? None of this had Mr. Gallaudet. Allowing, of course, for the freer flow of his sympathies in some directions than in others, he always showed entire respect toward men of all varieties of religious belief; extended to them unvarying personal kindness, did not withhold from them domestic hospitalities, and was always more than willing to cooperate with them in all efforts in the service of humanity and for the public good.

The secret of this catholic spirit in one whose theological creed so frequently engenders narrowness was precisely here. Mr. Gallaudet's religion lay not in the forms of his faith, but below them. They constituted the *espalier* upon which his devout instincts climbed upward; but the root of his religion lay in the soul, not the intellect, and its nourishment came not from the artificial trellis-work of church decrees, but from the soil of New Testament truth. "By their fruits shall ye know them," was a favorite text with him, and it furnished the canon by which he estimated personal worth and the value of private belief.

Mr. Gallaudet, in preaching, in conversation, and in practice, set forth a doctrine that has always been cardinal among Liberal Christians; namely, the indispensableness of personal righteousness. He, indeed, made

prominent the necessity of faith in the atoning sacrifice of the Saviour; but the latter without the former was a whitewashed sepulchre. He countenanced no theory of salvation by faith alone. The practical direction of his religion is well expressed by one who knew him intimately for the last twenty years of his life.

"His religion was beneficence, where good was to be done or kindness shown. It was honesty, exact and scrupulous, where business was to be transacted between him and his fellow-men. It was conscientiousness, where the rights of others were involved in his plans or his acts. It was self-denial, where the wants of the poor and the unfortunate required not only an outlay of time, but solicitations sometimes painful to make, in gaining the coöperation of others. It was courtesy, where it was often difficult to reconcile the claims of an extensive acquaintance with the discharge of pressing, indispensable engagements. It was humility towards God, showing itself in a deep sense of unworthiness. It was penitence, when human weakness yielded to temptation, — penitence sincere, abiding, and fruitful in meet works. It was cordial trust in the atonement of a Divine Redeemer, — not leading to carelessness, but exciting prayerful efforts to transfer the grace of that Redeemer's character to his own." — p. 46.

Another feature of Mr. Gallaudet's character, and one which requires to be distinctly set forth, was his *benevolence.* If the history of much of the nominally benevolent action and public service of men were read in the light of the Divine judgment, we fear that a sad adulteration of reputedly Christian motives would appear. If, among the mainsprings of our nature, that coil, a desire of human applause, a regard for the estimation of the world, should lose its temper and exert no further force upon individual effort, what a prodigious collapse would there be in services for private or public good! If the hope of pecuniary recompense were stricken from among the inducements to philanthropic action, how many *humane* efforts would be abandoned! If there were no such operative sentiment as a desire to "be somebody," in some sort of work, or to find scope for one's energies in a sphere not repugnant to one's kindly impulses and not over-crowded with competitors, the field of benevolent action would be still further and materially abridged.

We would not judge too unfavorably of human nature; but we believe that the secret consciousness of our readers will admit the truth of our positions. We conceive, however, that Mr. Gallaudet's benevolence (if of any human quality so strong an assertion may be ventured) would stand the test of the light of the Divine judgment. To the extent to which this beautiful sentiment may become perfect in man, we think it was perfect in him. Self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice can have no other avenue than pure benevolence; and we have yet to learn of the first act of nominal disinterestedness on the part of Mr. Gallaudet, in which the looking toward selfish gain is suspected to have had place. In illustration at once of his piety, his humility, and his unselfish aspirations, we subjoin an extract from his journal, which appears as a prayer.

"I beseech God to guard me against all concern,—(1st.) About my own temporal concerns. O, may I be led to take no thought, in this respect, for the morrow, but to leave God to furnish me with what temporal comforts he may see best for me, and not ever form my plans for pecuniary emolument. (2dly.) Against all undue anxiety respecting the management of the Asylum by its directors. O, may I have a meek, quiet, uncomplaining spirit, with regard to all that they may do, however unwise it may seem to be, according to my poor, weak, fallible judgment. May I strive, each day, to do all the good I can to the souls of my dear pupils, and calmly resign every thing which lies out of my own immediate sphere of duty into the hand of Him who will overrule all things, however adverse they may seem, for his own glory. (3dly.) Against all uncharitable feelings against any who are associated with me in the internal management of the Asylum. May I rather be careful to examine my own heart and conduct, and consider how far shall I fail of doing my duty conscientiously and zealously. (4thly.) Against any regard to public opinion, while I have the approbation of my own conscience. (5thly.) Against the corruption of my own heart and my daily besetting sins." — p. 23.

"I presume it is safe to say," remarks his eulogist, "that Mr. Gallaudet never rose in the morning without having in his mind, or on his hands, some extra duty of philanthropy to perform, — something beyond what was attached to him, from his official or regular engagements."

Necessarily, the directions of the benevolence of a man

so sagacious and so experienced as Mr. Gallaudet were manifold, and the occasions of its exercise were constant. The great work of popular education enlisted all his sympathies and the aid of all his powers. With the author of the "Theory of Human Progression," he believed that "knowledge," including, of course, moral and religious knowledge, "is the only means given to man to evolve correct action, and that correct action is the only means whereby man can evolve a correct, and consequently beneficial condition." Normal schools engaged his early and constant attention. Home training, alleviation of the condition of the insane, lyceums and institutes for young men, female seminaries, religious instruction of the West, peace, African colonization, treatment of criminals, were subjects on which he wrote, counselled, and labored with effect. In short, there was no subject of valuable reform to which he did not direct his mind, and on which he did not shed light. He was not, in the strict sense of the word, a reformer. But if he lacked the reformer's aggressive energy, he possessed the wisdom and the flexibleness of method and the true heart of philanthropy, without which the work of reformation comes nearer being the tornado of passion than the purifying breeze of humane endeavor.

In an unnoticed way, Mr. Gallaudet dispensed constant and invaluable charities; those that show most effectually the undying root of genuine benevolence. He visited in person the poor and the suffering. He sat by the bedsides of the sick and dying; and this not in a parish, by contract, not in the routine of paid duty, but as called by the necessities of his fellow-creatures. One said truly of him, that "he could not walk the length of Main Street without doing some good, by word or act, to some being, young or old." In fine, Mr. Gallaudet's benevolence was a quality never to be put on or taken off, for it was of the man; or rather, the man was of it.

We cannot but feel, if our estimate thus far of the character of this remarkable person be true, that in him the spirit of the two commandments, on which Christ hung "all the law and the prophets," found a beautiful realization.

We suppose the world would withhold from the sub-

ject of these remarks the position and repute of a "great man." Yet to be classed with Oberlin, and Vincent de Paul, and Clarkson, and Howard, and Tuckerman, is a distinction of which few certainly are worthy. In that company, however, is Mr. Gallaudet's place. In certain qualities of intellect he had no superior. His judgment in practical affairs possessed the accuracy of almost supernatural insight. When he had once investigated a subject of this character, little more remained to be discovered on the same side. This sagacity was the result of his candor, which enabled him to do justice to the objector's position; of his fidelity, which permitted him to slight no work when once before him to be done; of his power of continuous attention, which precluded the possibility of any part of the subject, whether in its present relations or its probable issues, eluding his scrutiny; and of his habit of applying to his examinations the systematized fruits of his experience. We regard his style in writing as almost faultless. It possessed the high charm of showing itself the instrument of truth, not of him who held the pen. What he wrote answered its end, in arresting attention and producing conviction.

Mr. Gallaudet has gone to his reward. The rich and the poor mourned his departure. All sects rendered to his mortal remains the tribute of their grief, and to his memory they render the tribute of their reverence.

J. H.

Art. VII. — MAN AND NATURE.

As the modern chemist claims that all things become identical so soon as they enter his crucible, so there is no distinction possible in language over which the metaphysicians will not shake their heads in suspicion. Man, they hint, is a part of Nature; and Nature is obviously a part of Man. Leaving to them this valuable discovery, we pass to the truth at all events obvious, that Man and Nature comprise for us the apparent universe. Deity we recognize as the source of this vast and varied con-

sequence, the centre of the circle whose divided arcs we measure; but all revelation of him must confessedly come through either a natural or a human medium, — a higher or lower incarnation. We look through nature up to nature's God, or we have the life of God in the soul of man; it must be the one or the other.

We are born into the world. For a few days and weeks we are to ourselves the sole fact of the universe, save the sweet bosom from which we are scarcely yet individualized. But presently our eyes are unsealed, the mists are dissipated which veiled our dawn, and a crowded world of other existences swiftly and more swiftly bursts forth upon us. We are but one fact in a countless accumulation of facts on every side. Air, water, earth, flowers, stars, beasts, mountains, — beautiful puzzles, delicious wonders, — are around us. A web of wonder arches, blue and gold, above our heads; wonder envelops us, white and gray, in the atmosphere; wonder ripples, blue and sparkling, before us. We stamp our feet; we know not on what they tread, — a thin shell whose substance whirls over and over in the air, bearing us with it through realms unknown. Animal nature moves in its mystery around us, walks the earth, four-footed, six-footed, hairy, smooth, many-colored, with strange, silent eyes yet unexplored; wonders soar above us to the skies, winged and feathered; or float, cold and silent, in the water. The air is filled with strange sounds; a hundred winds, a thousand creatures, join the chorus. We lift a stone and hold in our hands the sepulchre of millions of microscopic creatures. Not one of these but has as firm a place in the universe as we, and either we must shut our eyes to them wholly, or we must admit them all into our experience, and name and acknowledge all.

But to attempt to embrace them all in detail would drive us to despair. We are saved by the happy suggestion of our intellect, which with the first sight of the particular facts exhibits also resemblances leading to laws by which they may be grouped. We see affinities, we obtain classifications, genera and species and varieties at once arrange themselves, eager to aid us; these do not make the individual less important, they only leave us freer to dwell on its peculiarities. But this process is

not completed until we are able to extend it to Man also, include him as one class of facts in the vast whole, and determine his position and affinities.

This we do by a happy elasticity in our nature, enabling us to vary our attitude and point of view. As in our thoughts of the earth which rolls us on with it, we can habitually regard it as the centre of all things, and think of other planets and suns as mere satellites, and then can pass out of it in fancy and restore it to its own humble position among starry systems; so we can now view ourselves and our kindred race as the centre of existence, and again suddenly shrink to mere facts of a vast system, bound by certain eternal ties and laws to all other facts, humbler or higher.

The instant we do this, real intelligence begins; we are matriculated in the school of the universe. Once we saw only variety, we see unity now. No matter how immeasurable the array of particulars, give us only a general law, show the glimpse of a plan, and we can embrace them all as easily as one; in fact, the more the better, since they illustrate each other. The dignity of the universe begins so soon as we cease to regard it as an accidental combination of isolated thoughts of God, and view it but as *one thought of God*, an organic whole, each part answering to every other part; correspondence everywhere.

The Law of Unity; — we soon learn that all the observations of all the naturalists in all ages seem only to have elucidated this truth, that *creation is one;* different phenomena, different combinations, different planes, but the same identical law. Every thing in its place has a certain analogy to every thing else in its place, and the work of science is to trace this clew through all modifications. But the first instinct traces it also; the child starts upon the same track with the philosopher. The boy is eager to know about the sap in the tree; he studies with wonder its circulation and ramification. "Why, it is just like the blood in men and animals," he says; "it is the same thing!" His parents laugh at the "accidental coincidence" of which the child makes so much; but the youthful philosopher never will be convinced that it *is* an accidental coincidence, and so much the better; *his guess was right*, he has discovered the Law of Unity,

and he may grow up to be Linnæus or Agassiz, and only be able to say more assuredly, "It is the same thing." After all, the sap *is* the blood, and does its familiar duty; the individual is the same, only adopting different costume and manners for different spheres of society. We "see men as trees walking"; the same law bids both stand erect; the same law distributes among both the mysterious relations of sex. Each breathes the same atmosphere, for the tree kisses the air with a thousand moist lips in every leaf, and dies if you close them; only if you give it ether it dies a slow death, the sap stagnating beneath the microscope, as the blood does. We might continue the analogies. What are arms and legs but branches and liberated roots? muscles and tendons bind both; the skin renews itself as the bark does; and in a cross section of a bone no one can fail to notice the woody structure. Hair and nails in all animals are essentially vegetable; the young seeds of some plants cannot be distinguished from insect-eggs by the naked eye; and their receptacles are often strangely similar, as with the black four-horned egg-case of the skate, often found on our beaches, and usually mistaken for a vegetable product. And it is noticed by Agassiz, that, when tadpoles begin to develop into frogs, the newborn legs bear a precise resemblance to the buds of plants.

These coincidences are not accidental nor partial; if followed up, they lead us into one rigid, universal law of unity in variety. We have selected this one relationship of animal and vegetable; we might as well have looked in any other direction, into air, earth, or water. Earth shows us, for example, the identity of vegetation and crystallization; you may observe it, on any winter day, in the mimic forests of frost upon your window. Sometimes the crystals assume the form of feathers, sometimes of stars; but the vegetable look predominates. After a sleety rain we have observed a spruce-tree of which every branch seemed to have a set of additional leaves of frost-crystals *built on* at the end of the natural leaves, so that, but for the difference in color, one could hardly, at the first glance, have distinguished them. Shall we look through the air? "As far as the heavens from the earth," we say; but Professor Peirce has shown that the self-

same mathematical law which distributes the stations of planets in the solar system, also distributes accurately the leaves in their spiral order around the stem of every plant. And as for water, (if here we may hazard a fancy of our own,) we have so often been impressed with the similarity between the sinuous and scalloped line drawn by every wave upon the beach, and the curvilinear grace of many vegetable forms, as especially of foliaceous lichens, that we live in the hope of some future professorial demonstration by the aid of the calculus.

We constantly come back to this, that all nature is fluid, and for ever glides into various, but always analogous forms, under the same identical law. We are startled when the naturalists exhibit to us the identity of the different parts of the same creature. The plant, for instance; what can seem more unlike than its various organs? Yet every botanist now accepts the Goethean hypothesis, which shows in the leaf the archetype of the plant, and in every organ only a transformed leaf. Look at the skeleton of a leaf, and you see a miniature tree; nay, according to a recent theorist, a miniature of the generic tree to which the leaf belongs. Look at a series of ferns, and you find a sort of graduated scale from a single leaf, through subdivision becoming the image of a complex tree. But apart from this external portraiture, we know the assertion true; the branch is a condensed leaf or leaves, the thorn a stunted branch; tendril, runner, tuber, are modifications of the same. We come to the flower; the calyx passes by natural gradations of bract and involucre from the leaf, and often is indistinguishable; there seems no reliable distinction between corolla and calyx; the stamens often pass into petals, as in the common white water-lily, where there are almost always some which do an uncertain duty. In double flowers, produced in rich ground, all the organs become petals, refuse their reproductive office, and the plant is barren. In short, each part of the plant, under the circumstances, is capable of transformation. For instance, in wet, warm springs, the flower-bud of the pear or apple tree is sometimes changed to a branch. Sometimes a branch will grow out of the end of the pear, or apple, or strawberry, or even out of a rose. These are called "monstrosities," but they are plainly subject to a law.

What seems at first sight more distinct than the branches and roots of trees? Yet they are essentially the same organs, modified for different purposes; and experiment has proved that you may turn the tree upside down, and see the branches put forth rootlets and the roots put forth leaves. Nay, constantly we see what illustrates the same truth. Let a root of a tree become exposed to the air, and the proper bark grows over it, and it soon sends out leaves and branches; a phenomenon identical with that of the armless young gentlemen of menageries and museums, who shoot pistols with their toes.

The same law of identity holds good of the animal structure likewise. The archetype of the skeleton is the vertebra, or rib; as each part of the plant is a transformed leaf, so is each part of the animal a transformed vertebra. The trunk is composed of these; and the arms and legs are but liberated, movable ribs. There is essentially the same series of bones in all vertebrate animals, only differently modified as leg, wing, or fin. The limbs begin to suffer a sea-change in web-footed animals, and in fishes and Cetacea the change is completed. "Every segment of the human arm and hand exists also in the fin of the whale, though they do not seem required for the support of that undivided and inflexible paddle." Fin and leg become wings in the flying-fish and bat; the paw of the bat is like that of the squirrel, but the thumb is stretched into a kind of boom, to which a membranous sail is attached. The rudiments of every organ appear in all these beings. There is nothing impossible in a winged man, but his wings would not be new and additional limbs, as in pictures of unscientific angels, but would insist upon employing the muscles of his arms for their service. If he will have a vertebrate system, he must take the consequences. All his kindred move by the same muscles, and so must he. Even his enemy, the snake, moves by the same members with man, though his limbs are concealed and man's are free. He wraps arms and legs, ay, and fins, in a party-colored cloak, and works his way over land and through water by the muscles. Give an animal but ribs enough, and it will have a body that can go anywhere and do any thing.

Nay, to go a step farther, even the head itself, the lofty and stately head, seeming so far removed from these

laws, yet strictly conforms to them. It is but *a concentrated body*, consisting of a series of transformed vertebræ, which Professor Owen will demonstrate to you from beginning to end; "a new man on the shoulders of the other one." The organs of the body, too, are seen in the head, — jaws are limbs, with Pelopian ivory fingers. Among all animals there is a connection between the size and shape of these two sets of organs. "The jaws of insects," says Agassiz, "are modified feet." Or look at a bird of prey tearing his victim with talons and beak; what are they but two sets of powerful limbs? The lower and fiercer the man or animal, the more the jaws — or limbs of the head — are developed. In some animals, we see the transition as strikingly as we have exhibited it in the vegetable world. For instance, the common crab consists of a disk with a series of curvilinear appendages, of which the head is the centre; — first and outermost paddles, then legs, then jaws hardly distinguishable from the rest, then mandibles, at the end of one of which we find an eye; all these parts being only modifications of one and the same type. Lower down we find a greater economy of organization, the organs of head and body become the same; and the common starfish of our beaches carries his eyes at the ends of his five fingers, an unconscious clairvoyant. But in the higher orders, the aristocracy of nature, a separate set of vertebræ is permitted to each part of the body; each part being, however (thus the anatomists teach us humility) only a transformed rib still; which recalls with startling illustration the second chapter of Genesis.

To go yet a step farther. These are relations of *form;* but if inquiry be made after the *material* of these things, we find no contradiction of what has been said. "Modern chemistry has shown by experiment that the transformations of matter are merely apparent, and consist solely of various combinations of the same particles. Bodies apparently the most distinct — for instance, starch, gum, sugar, fat, and the woody fibre of plants — are the same, or nearly so, in composition." There is only a difference of form, and through all the forms there runs, as we have shown, a singular law of identity, which joins the whole physical creation into a unit.

We have used the phrase *matter*. If any of our readers

can define it for us, it is more than we can do for ourselves. But we shall not interfere in the controversy of materialist and idealist. "It is all the same to us, since we can never test the accuracy of our senses"; and know whether there really be any thing hard, soft, sweet, sour, and the like, or whether it be only a peculiarity of our constitution to think so. Be that as it may, we are safe thus far, in asserting that, howsoever we define our terms, the material world not only corresponds at all points to itself, but corresponds to the spiritual world likewise; so that not only the physical universe, but the *whole* universe, is framed upon one idea.

To illustrate this, what a host uprise of analogies, figures, correspondences! Is there a statement of abstract truth which has not at some time been illustrated by a fact in nature, or a fact in nature which might not be stated in the abstract form it symbolizes?

The laws of nature are the laws of spirit; the truths of nature are the truths of spirit. Mythology, allegory, parable, proverb, metaphor, are all founded on this fact. Nay, language is founded on it, from beginning to end. Language has been best defined as "fossil poetry"; every word began as a trope. The metaphysical vocabulary was originally the physical vocabulary. Memory at once suggests countless illustrations in such words as *right*, *wrong*, *perverse*, *depraved*, *imagination*, *understanding*, *transgress*, *oppress*, *discern*, *submit*, *sincere*, *upright*, and so on indefinitely. These natural tropes do not rest on fancy, but on fact.

So there are other correspondences familiarly recognized in universal use, though not in etymology. Heart means feeling; head stands for thought. The connection between truth and light, darkness and ignorance, between love and warmth, indifference and cold, is unmistakable; there never lived a person who did not instinctively employ these as convertible terms. They stand related as the sap and the blood, the same individual in different costumes; what is true of heat is true of love, the phenomena of light are the phenomena of truth; the relation between heat and light in the physical sphere is that between love and truth in the spiritual, and so on for ever.

As we rise in the scale of creation these analogies only

become closer. Have we any virtue of which some animal is not the type, any fault of which there is not a brute parody? From bee to wasp, from ant to adder, from dove to hawk, from lamb to wolf, — nay, from lily to nettle, from rich grape to lurid henbane and loathly fungus and all the horrible catalogue of Shelley's Sensitive Plant, —

> "Plants at whose name the verse feels loath,
> Prickly and pulpous and blistering and blue,
> Livid and starred with a lurid hue"; —

all these in turn attract us through their sympathy, or taunt us by their horrible mimicry of our follies and vices. They are always by us, and always faithful, these silent counsellors. Well says the quaint poet, Henry Vaughan, —

> "Man I can bribe, and woman will
> Consent to any gainful ill,
> But these dumb creatures are so true,
> Nor gold nor gifts can them subdue";

and wherever man may be in his sin, however far from human eye or ear, yet the first flush of consciousness shows all creation leagued against him; and, shot through and through by the keen arrows of these unconscious satirists, there is no escape from disgrace but in escaping from existence.

This strange identity of natural and spiritual laws is not the discovery of the learned, nor the invention of the fanciful; it is the instinct of man. All who come in contact with nature unconsciously recognize it. Talk upon the most abstract subject with a dozen men of a dozen different pursuits, and you will find that each resorts naturally for his phrases to the natural objects with which he has to deal; — the farmer to crops and cattle, the mechanic to wood, metal, or leather, the wood-cutter to trees, the sailor to winds and currents, the fisherman and hunter to the animals they deal with. They recognize the law of identity; that what is true in one sphere must be true in the other. As our lawyers cite the decisions of the English courts where ours are not in point, because, though the place be different, the common law is the same, so these men cite the facts of nature as valid decisions. On a farm, the maxims drawn from familiar animals alone, as dog, cat, sheep, crow, weasel, would form quite a little code of ethics and sagacity. And so

of more graceful images. "If there were no innocent souls," reasons the Oriental proverb with resistless cogency, "there would be no white lilies." Ask any abstract question, and it can as well be answered in physical facts as in any other way, — like picture-writing, hieroglyphics, or the "language of flowers." Begin anywhere to interrogate. Can we ever expect to obtain absolute uniformity of belief among men? asks some grave divine. No, replies Nature, for no two blades of grass are ever precisely alike. But is there no general rule without an exception? No; even the three-leaved clover sometimes has four leaves. Or ask a series of practical questions on "the conduct of life." When shall I act? "Make hay while the sun shines." How shall I act? "A rolling stone collects no moss." Will my action be ever appreciated? "Every fluid finds its level." Will it have influence? "The motion of a star alters the centre of gravity of the universe." Will that influence be lasting? Yes, for the smallest concussion upon smooth water makes a circle that continues widening on for ever. And so the symbolical language goes on. We wonder that "spiritual mediums" obtain answers from the legs of tables, and forget that every piece of wood comes of an oracular family, and every grove is Dodona. It really makes little difference where, at which end of the universe, we begin; we can get our questions answered anywhere. All creation is a hieroglyphical Bible.

It seems strange that men should have credited the "Doctrine of Correspondences" to Swedenborg, when it is as old and familiar as the senses of mankind. It is not only true that parts of the Bible have two meanings, but that every statement of material facts has two, three, or a dozen. Slight as is our present knowledge, we yet cannot find a fact in nature but has another inside of it, like a series of Chinese boxes. You cannot get one fact alone. Coleridge went to Sir Humphrey Davy's chemical lectures to obtain a new stock of metaphors. But we have only to keep our eyes open, and we have a new one every hour. We look into Agassiz's lectures, and read that "the branched ribs that support the wings of insects are the hardened remains of tubes through which the circulation was carried on in earlier years." It is a beautiful metaphor, but did we not know the truth

before? There never lived one but had, in the drying of the channels of earlier passions and joys, and the strength that came of it afterwards, precisely the experience written in hieroglyphics there, ages before his birth. Or we watch a moth emerging from the chrysalis. First he remains with his wings folded; then he unfolds them and remains stationary for many minutes, perhaps hours, waving them slowly in the air; then suddenly he begins to crawl, and runs vehemently forward for as long a time, seeming as if only born to run, and as if wings were all a fiction; content at last with this, he soars into the air, henceforth a matured being. Do we see no type of the progress of the soul in all this? — first, helpless infancy, then the strange questionings and thoughtful aspiration of the young child, the waving of the spirit's wings without actual ascending, — then the plunge into activity and apparent forgetfulness of all else, — and at last the combination of all these powers into a full, symmetrical experience. Shall we say that there is nothing in all this but accident, coincidence, and fancy? Say rather, that it is with the whole material universe as with the human eye; the more deeply we look into it, the more plainly we see our own eye looking back upon us, and we learn the essential unity of all created things.

For what have we said, that any simple, healthy mind cannot perceive as readily as the morning light? This is the blessing of intercourse with Nature, that she brings health to mind as well as body. Hers is the fresh air which the spirit also needs, and inhales as unconsciously as the lungs inhale it. She brings a wealth for the intellect and an essential innocence for the heart, which bear fruit in the most unreflecting hours. It is good for the soul to be absorbed in the play of the fish, and the shifting of the breeze, and the changes of seasons and hours, no matter if it seem to be in the most material way. We, too, find strength where Antæus found it. As for gardens, the ancient Tempter has quite forsaken them since men first built cities to accommodate him. And cares and temptations are like witches, that especially avoid a running stream. Alone in a boat on the river, with an hour of leisure before, who can be jealous or suspicious or ambitious or conceited? We lay aside our human responsibility, and become a part of the unconscious universe, —

> "Rolled round in Earth's diurnal course,
> With rocks and stones and trees."

We have for a time the innocence and wisdom of animals and plants. Hence the pleasure we take in books of natural history and travels, even when very matter-of-fact. Hence the enjoyment the most thoughtful persons find in the society of out-door men, — sailors, farmers, lumber-men, stage-drivers, — at least so long as they are true to their pursuit, which is nature, and do not intrude their personal vices and meannesses. Hence the greater mental and moral attractiveness of such pursuits, and even of mechanical employments, as compared with the life of tradesmen. Nature admits the haystack and the boat to the freemasonry of her beauty; but she is less hospitable to the new block of red brick warehouses, and the Gothic town-hall.

Leaving these considerations, we pass now to the important question, How must Nature be studied?

1. We need hardly exhort more specially to a study of the *facts* of Nature, because that has been amply implied already, and because to most it does not occur that she can be studied *except* through the facts. Yet it ought to occur. Let us not, indeed, disparage the facts, but rather mourn that our senses are so little educated, and observe so little of what each day displays to them. Every child should be early taught the utmost precision of observation, almost to the extent of Dr. Johnson's proposition, to whip a boy who had made a mistake in stating which window he had just looked from. But this accuracy, after all, is more easily to be whipped into a child than another teaching without which this is vain. The visible facts of nature alone will never teach nature. The essential part of every animal, in Agassiz's judgment, is "the immaterial principle with which each is endowed, and which determines the constancy of species from generation to generation"; the *idea* or *law* of the animal. "To perceive mentally the law of any being's organization," said Cuvier, "is to be able to reproduce the animal without seeing it." These statements indicate a greater step in modern science than all its array of accumulated details can show. The essential part of each being is its idea; every created thing has in it a law of organization, by which alone it exists; and this is as true

of sand and granite as of man and beast. This living, plastic power is not the result of its existence, but constitutes its existence; remove it, and annihilation follows. "I know nothing more absurd," said Jacobi, "than to see in life only a product of things; it is rather things which are the product of life, of which they are only expressions and manifestations." The botanist, the anatomist, often thinks himself studying dead matter; there is no such thing; he is studying life and organization and form; and these are intellectual things, to be intellectually embraced.

Now what enables the mind to embrace it? This chiefly, which we have said before, that the law of organization is a law of unity; all things are constructed upon one sublime idea. The intellect can follow the process of crystallization, because there is something within itself answering to that humble and beautiful law; it can understand the structure of a plant, because of its secret affinities with that lovely, blooming life. "Man vegetable and man animal speak to man human," it has been quaintly said. Nature in us reveals all the strange analogies which lie in the forms without us.

We come, then, to this, that Nature needs to be studied from within the mind as well as with the senses. If all things correspond, if there is not a profound beauty of the structure of the universe but is pictured transfigured in the divine spirit of man, and each added inspiration of this is an added revelation of hidden mysteries of Nature, then why dwell only on that which the eyes see, and neglect this way of deeper penetration? Zoroaster of old gave the name of "divine allurements" to the correspondences between material forms and the soul, and he left the aphorism that "he who knows himself knows all things in himself." Indeed, in all ages, microscopes and measurements have been only the servants of the profounder faculty which could, if necessary, dispense with them. "This will be found contrary to all experience," said Euler of his law of arches, "and yet it is true." Sir J. Herschel declares that "almost all the conclusions of astronomy are in direct contradiction to those of common experience, and with what appears to every one the positive evidence of his senses." The facts of our earlier pages were only adduced to illustrate the

great thought of Goethe, of the *transformation* of the one primary type throughout nature. Now, Goethe had no great claims as an experimental naturalist, and was here surpassed by many contemporaries; yet he furnished the "one idea" of modern botany and comparative anatomy. Yet between such a mind and the mere observer there is always jealousy, and Schiller represented the latter position when he complained to Goethe on this very occasion, "That is not experience, but an idea"; as if experience had any value except as either suggesting the idea, or illustrating it.

Thus the first axiom in the study of nature is this:— Do not be afraid of your own thoughts; seek knowledge from within, as well as from without; there *is* a royal road to it, in proportion as you are accustomed to the recognition of general principles and laws.

2. We pass to the second maxim:— Do not be too utilitarian in your study of Nature; love her for her own sake, give yourself up to her, without hampering yourself by impatience for an immediate result.

It is not to be denied that this maxim will appear to many the very opposite of the truth. Let us find shelter behind a remarkable letter from Liebig to Faraday.

"What struck me most in England," he says, "was the perception that only those works that have a practical tendency command respect, while the purely scientific, which possess far greater merit, are almost unknown. And yet the latter are the proper source from which the others flow. Practice alone can never lead to the discovery of a truth or a principle. In Germany it is quite the contrary. Here in the eyes of scientific men no value, or at least but a trifling one, is placed upon the practical results. The enrichment of science is alone considered worthy attention."

And yet this statement comes from the chief benefactor, in modern times, of the practical art of agriculture.

The truth is, that, in our own enjoyment of the common comforts of life which science has procured for us, we forget the amount of seemingly useless labor and investigation which preceded those results. We should be still in barbarism if scientific men had not worked by faith instead of sight, in the pure love of science. Innumerable processes, which mechanic art now easily per-

stance of the manner in which a mere scientific fancy, hardly deserving the name of a speculation, will sometimes so strangely correspond with a later discovery, as to suggest irresistibly the desire to find in it something more than an accidental coincidence. We refer to a semi-prophecy of the magnetic telegraph, which we have never seen noticed in any essay on that subject. Sir Thomas Browne, in his celebrated "Vulgar Errors" (A. D. 1646), gave a detailed account of what he calls

"a conceit which is whispered through the world with some attention; credulous and vulgar auditors readily believing it, and more judicious heads not altogether rejecting it. The conceit is excellent, and, if the effect would follow, somewhat divine, whereby we might communicate like spirits and confer on earth with Menippus in the moon. And this is pretended from the sympathy of two needles, touched with the same loadstone, and placed in two *abcdary circles*, or rings, with letters described round about them, one friend keeping one and another the other, and agreeing on an hour when they will communicate. For then, saith tradition, at what distance of place soever, when one needle shall be removed unto any letter, the other by a wonderful sympathy will remove unto the same. *But herein my experience can find no truth.*"

And then he gives, very soberly, his experiment. But his experience would have found a truth had he lived two centuries later, since one of the most valuable improvements in the telegraphic machine (the indicating telegraph) gives it this precise form of "an abcdary circle," with a needle which, as the machine operates, points successively at the proper letters, thus spelling out its story.

3. Lastly, our study of Nature must be *reverent*. Her details are so vast, her law so profound, and our powers of study so scanty, that the utmost investigation only tends to show the need for something more. The most enlightened naturalist is most conscious of ignorance. Newton is a child collecting pebbles on the shore. In view of the vast amount yet to be known, we may not only say that little has been done, but almost that nothing has been done. Wordsworth has not yet begun to describe, nor Agassiz to explore. Even the encyclopedical power of knowledge which modern science has developed, the knowledge, for example, of Humboldt, is un-

able to keep up with contemporary investigations. No ordinary mind can entertain the accumulating details even of any one branch. For instance, in botany there is still no greater name than that of Linnæus. Linnæus enumerated about ten thousand species of plants. But the number now known to exist in various herbariums is more than two hundred thousand; and this is probably not more than half the number of existing species.

Thus the mere details of Nature are perpetually multiplying to our knowledge, and defying the explorer. But, as has been shown, the outside of Nature is her least important part. There is a spirit and a spell in her which cannot be pressed in an herbarium nor condensed in a text-book. The mysterious grace and glory of her life is something to which the most magnificent array of material details is trivial; and so she mocks, sooner or later, at all science and all art. We may analyze the light and the cloud, but who shall analyze the sunset? We may name every beast and every insect, but who shall take the first step to explore the *consciousness* of any one of these fair creatures, or make plainer the awful mystery that is in them? With all the simplicity of Nature's law, and all the correspondence we have found to our own spirit, she is yet inexhaustible. As an eminent American scholar once said of learning foreign languages, that, however thoroughly we think we learn them, there is always a veil left between them and our intelligence, to remind us that they still are not our own; so is it with us and Nature; we study her kindred races, we see the close correspondence, but there is always a veil. It is not so with books, it is not so with art; beings like ourselves have made them; sooner or later we can look through their eyes, and the works are to our highest moments only a matter of sympathy and interest, not of homage. There is no such familiarity with Nature. We study a moonlight or twilight by Allston; it is wonderful and glorious; but what depth is there in it, what resources, beside these other moonlights and twilights which God permits these poor senses of ours to gaze upon, month by month and day by day? There is a limit to the power of all thought and art; let the master once teach us his mighty secret, and lift us to his side by sympathy, and there is no wonder in his greatest work

compared with the simplest phenomenon of Nature's life. The bar that separates me from Shakspeare is nothing compared with the bar that separates me from the air I breathe. How can it be otherwise? When I read Shakspeare, I become identified with the spirit of Shakspeare,—burning with him, sighing, sorrowing with him; his magnificent inspirations thrill through me also, as a smaller wire throbs responsive to the vibrations of a larger one placed by its side. All that he creates in his characters he creates in me also, while I am under his spell; his inmost secrets may in time be revealed; but this air that sweeps by me, with its mysterious, invisible life, fresh and strong in Eden, fresh and strong now,—this is a stranger, nor is it plain how eternity can make it otherwise. Yet how entrancing the fascination which this very hopelessness gives to the pursuit of Nature, how inexhaustible the spell!

Yet we do wrong to say hopelessness, for there come at times from Nature mysterious hints and glimpses, which take us into the very heart of her existence. But these are not of our own choosing. It is one of the great mysteries, that there seems to be such a thing as looking at her too inquisitively and closely, and that this injures our sight of her. Astronomers say that indirect vision is more delicate than direct vision,—to catch the light of a very distant star most keenly, you must look at some star near to it. The truth is a very general one. Apparently it is not true of wild animals alone, but of stars and flowers also, that they run away and elude a too rigid scrutiny. Every faithful lover of Nature knows the meaning of Margaret Fuller's remark, that "Nature will not be stared at." She is like Napoleon, who "had the power of discharging all expression from his face when looked at too inquisitively." She loves those who obey her laws, and share her fresh spirit, and love her under every aspect, not those who cross-examine her for selfish purposes. Aristotle, says tradition, drowned himself in the river Euripus, in despair of discovering why it ebbed and flowed seven times a day, exclaiming, "*Si non capio te, tu capies me,*—If I cannot take you in, you shall take me in." We must all come to it at last,—immerse ourselves in Nature, become a part of her, if we wish to know her. Plotinus says: "Should any one at-

tempt to interrogate Nature, how she works, — if graciously she vouchsafe to answer, she will say, It behoves thee to go along with me in silence, even as I am silent and work without words." Then shall be fulfilled the beautiful prophecy of the Book of Job: "Thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field, and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee."

One thing more. We have endeavored to point out the universal law of correspondence between Man and Nature. We must not close without the question, Does this correspondence finally prevail as regards that law, the most important of all that concern the human race, the law of progress? We answer that it does, nay, that it holds more thoroughly and more strikingly than any other of these correspondences. The one great law of Nature, as of Man, is of progress, but with this startling circumstance, that here Nature separates herself in date from Man, and that her progress seemed to cease when and where his began. Let us explain. Stand in some museum of geology; look upon the vast, uncouth remains of an elder time; go back in imagination and see the gigantic bones of the Mastodon and Mylodon reclothed in flesh; — or visit some cave where animal remains are found, "look at the scattered bones, picture the period when those strange, monstrous beasts crowded in dense bands into the caves, driven by terror, finding death; or go farther back, to the time when hot volcanic action formed those caves, or wide-spread floods covered the land; — seems it not as if we lived to-day in a dream of futurity, children of eternal peace? How quiet, how serene, is our present nature, when compared with those fierce, gigantic times! The mightiest tempests, the most terrible earthquakes of our day, are but weak echoes of that earlier birth. We notice everywhere" (argues Novalis, whom we are quoting) "*a gradual elevation and pacification of Nature.*" We ask now, What can properly follow upon this process except the *elevation and pacification of Man also?* Towards man all orders of beings ascend; in man they are all summed up; he is the sole microcosm. Since his appearance no new species of plant or animal has been produced on earth. But the Creative Spirit may well cease from multiplying species, when the time has come to develop itself through

the free activity of a race of conscious beings. *Henceforth human development takes the place of physical;* Man now must be raised and harmonized, as Nature has been. All points to his progress. As geologists say that these extinct races of animals only coarsely typify the *immature state* of present races, so our cumbrous forms, beliefs, laws, organizations, must give place to newer and newer ones, including in a condensed and maturer form all their good, and adding wider good. Our slaveries and wars, nay, our armies and poorhouses, are as much signs of transition ages as the Megalonyx and Plesiosaurus; and we must leave them behind, if the great law of the universe holds true. So we are predestined to go on, "so build we up the being which we are." Seeing the nature within us and without us to be the same thing in varying forms, and both to be the very breath of God in the universe, we shall surrender ourselves to his leadings, and, coming more and more into harmony with creation, assume at length the position he designed for man, as its visible consummation and head.

But because all the eye sees is finite, and the hopes of the soul are infinite, — and since there is in all we know of creation no such thing as an ungratified hope, but in every grade of being we find desire proportioned to destiny, — we look forward to a time when even the beauty and glory of visible nature may prove a limit and a restraint, and, in a noble Oriental figure, "the eagle of the immortal soul shall shake from his plumage the dust of the body." T. W. H.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The New Series of Sunday School Manuals. In Eight Volumes. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company.

The Course of Christian Instruction, which we announced in our last number as in process of preparation, has now appeared. After giving to the volumes which compose it such attention as we have been able to bestow upon them, we do not feel able to

pronounce decidedly upon their relative approach to our ideal of what such works should contain, nor do we wish here to go into a close criticism of their merits. The true and final test of their adaptation to their purpose will be the results which follow their use. We can hardly feel a doubt but that a fair trial of them by teachers who employ their own best abilities upon them, as well as upon their pupils, will prove that they are eminently valuable as a whole. If at any point the system which they recognize, or the means which they afford for realizing it, should prove inefficient or defective, they will make it comparatively easy of amendment, through their undeniable wisdom in their general plan and the larger portion of its details. We hope to date from the appearance of these little works a new and most propitious era in the cause of Sunday schools. There are two prominent advantages which they are eminently adapted to secure. First, they will make it more easy to find teachers, and will engage the interest of teachers. Undoubtedly many persons now shrink from that office, not from any lack of will or readiness to contribute something to the instruction of the young in religious principles and duties, but because they are unwilling to attempt this except in some systematic way. Heretofore, unless some peculiarly pleasant relations between teacher and pupils favored both parties, and continued the interest of successive weekly lessons, there was often a desultory, unprogressive course pursued, which never satisfied either party. Now a teacher has the means within his hands of carrying on a class through a regular course of instruction, or if he confines himself to one book of this series, and takes a new class through it each year, he may feel that the pupils, having been guided through the books which precede his own, or expecting to use those which follow after it in order, will come to him and go from him as still under a systematic training. The second chief advantage which we expect from the use of this series is that of establishing in the minds of the pupils an intelligible view of the relations which religious writings bear to religious truths and duties, of the use of the Scriptures, of the connection of their narratives with local scenes, of the way in which their contents are made instrumental to our improvement, and of the means which they afford for disclosing, interpreting, and enforcing the will of God. The fact, that the authors and compilers of these eight books have all had practical experience in Sunday schools, have been familiar with the defects that have appeared in them, and have united their efforts after a full mutual understanding of their common purposes, will do more to recommend the result of their labors than any thing that we could say.

The first book of the series, and properly the smallest, is entitled, "Early Religious Lessons." It is of the most simple

character, embracing a course of short lessons, each composed of a brief passage from the Bible, followed generally by a fragment of poetry. Here, of course, a sentiment or a truth is to be illustrated or impressed by the teacher. "Palestine and the Hebrew People" is the title of the second book, which is composed of questions referring to the geography of Palestine, the laws, customs, and life of its inhabitants, the answers being indicated by references to the Bible. The third book, "Lessons on the Old Testament," consists of questions founded on the narratives and incidents and characters of the Hebrew Scriptures, the lessons being preceded by illustrative matter. "Scenes from the Life of Jesus" is the title of the fourth book. In this the life of Christ is related in portions divided for lessons, and with a free mingling of the writer's own words with those of the Evangelists, so as to make the narrative more familiar in its tone. Each exercise is followed by a short prayer and by questions. The fifth book, entitled "The Books and Characters of the New Testament," is designed, to a certain extent, to serve as a basis for exhibiting the evidences of the Gospel history, and for illustrating the literary character and composition of the various Gospels and Epistles. It contains questions, the answers to which are to be learned by the pupil, and filled out or illustrated, if found necessary, by the teacher. "Lessons upon Religious Duties and Christian Morals" is the title of the sixth book, also by questions and answers. Here we have matter which may be conveyed in its simplest form, or most largely amplified and commented on by the teacher. The author of it says enough to meet the necessities of the case, and also indicates the line for further profitable remarks. "Doctrines of Scripture" is the title of the seventh book. The being and attributes of God, man's relations to God, the titles and offices of Jesus Christ, and the great themes of the New Testament religion, are here arranged under appropriate titles, with questions opening their instruction, and answers referring to the most clear passages of Scripture. The eighth and last book of the series is entitled, "Scenes from Christian History." This embraces a selection of some of the most impressive and remarkable incidents in Christian history, from the earliest times down to our own day. Of course, a volume so crowded with subjects can give but small space to each. While the brief relations which it offers are vividly and distinctly told, and would of themselves be sure to convey instruction and leave an impression, this book affords an admirable incentive to the teacher to make himself familiar with larger histories, that he may connect and amplify upon the contents of this volume.

Let the efforts of this partnership of laborers in one of the most serious and needful of all Christian enterprises be appreciated

by our societies; let our Sunday school teachers bring to their work a desire to make the very best use of the rich and helpful means here afforded them, and the prospects of the next generation in our communion will be brightened.

We are glad to learn from the publishers that these works have been received with a spontaneous heartiness of interest. They have distributed some seven thousand copies, but have not met the demand for them.

On the Study of Words. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B. D. From the Second London Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Redfield. 1852. 12mo. pp. 236.

THE way had been prepared for the most favorable reception of this pleasant volume among us by the lively article upon it and upon its subject-matter which appeared in Littell's Living Age, copied from an English magazine. While there is much that is purely fanciful, and something that is overstrained, in the author's suggestions concerning the origin of words, and the significations and associations, etymological or fortuitous, which they have acquired, there is in his book a prevailing spirit of wisdom, a real genius, and a liveliness, which would have justified him in going far beyond the modest limits of this volume. We heartily commend it to our readers.

The Works of STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., LL. D., *late President of the Wesleyan University.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 422, 475.

DR. OLIN was one of the most scholarly and accomplished men in the Methodist connection in this country. His feeble health had compelled him to travel much abroad, and the works in which he has given his foreign observations have been well received. In these two volumes we have Sermons and heads or sketches of sermons, Lectures, chiefly on subjects connected with Christian education, Missionary Addresses, and Essays. These all bear the stamp of a vigorous mind in union with a zealous spirit. They cannot but contribute the full measure of one individual's hearty and earnest faith to the great cause which engages all Christians.

The Principles of Courtesy: with Hints and Observations on Manners and Habits. By GEORGE WINFRED HERVEY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 300.

THIS book is designed to do for Christians what Lord Chester-

field designed to do for men of the world, and *gentlemen*, in the popular use of the word. Its contents are almost entirely devoted to the exhibition of those principles of demeanor and behavior which should guide a religious man, and they take for granted the reception of those laws of conduct which are presented by Christianity. While we have found ourselves, here and there, questioning some of the minor maxims proposed by Mr. Hervey, we must give him the credit which belongs to him as actually the pioneer in the work to which he has devoted himself, and as having stated in a wise and forcible way many excellent counsels.

A Manual of Grecian Antiquities. With numerous Illustrations. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 457.

DR. ANTHON does not claim any original merit for his numerous works. He has a degree of skill in using the labors of others, and the work of instruction in which he is engaged acquaints him with the wants of pupils. If, however, he is as unexacting in what he requires of his pupils in hearing their lessons, as he is lavish in affording them facilities which almost make their own efforts needless, he must be a favorite with slack students. In the book before us he has done for Grecian antiquities what he had before done for those of Rome, — presenting a brief compend of larger works on that subject.

An Exposition of some of the Laws of the Latin Grammar. By GESSNER HARRISON, M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 290.

WE suppose that this volume embraces some of the conclusions and results of the author's repeated routine of study and instruction in the Latin language. One who must frequently go over that round of verbal work, and with all the parts and elements which enter into it present at once distinctly in his mind, has admirable opportunities for doing what this author appears to have done admirably well. His book is in no sense a Grammar. It aims to give not so much the philosophy as the constructions and variations or exceptions which prevail in the etymology and the syntax of the Latin tongue, taking for granted in his readers a knowledge of its grammar.

An Elementary Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, with their Applications, &c., &c. By BENJAMIN PEIRCE, Perkins Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics in Harvard University. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 359.

THIS is a new edition, with additions, of the valuable text-book on Trigonometry which has had, perhaps justly, a more extended use than any other of Professor Peirce's elementary series. The duodecimo form has been changed to octavo, and many new examples for practice are added. It is now as thorough in its practical training as in its analytical beauty. There is no department of mathematics more bewitching in its simple beauty than Trigonometry, and no treatise within our knowledge affords so simple and so attractive an introduction to its charms.

We can only wish that, before publishing this new edition, a careful proof-reader had removed certain slight defects arising from some inattention, or from the progress of discovery since the book was written. The definition of a vertical line, for example, (p. 169,) needs a slight alteration or addition; and it is of course impossible that a Professor of Astronomy should in 1852 enumerate (p. 171) only four asteroids, and in naming the planets omit to mention the one whose discovery, by means of the pencil rather than the telescope, is the greatest triumph of mathematical astronomy ever achieved.

Eleven Weeks in Europe: and what may be seen in that Time. By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 328.

IN such descriptions as Mr. Clarke offers, and to which, for the most part, he confines himself, the shortness of the time which he had for observation hardly makes any abatement on the score of accuracy or justice. Many things, when looked upon by a discriminating and intelligent observer for a few hours or days, may be described with more vividness and felicity by him, than by one whom long familiarity with them has dulled. There is a freshness and vigor in Mr. Clarke's sketches, and a terseness and point in the reflections which he intersperses among them, which make his book as attractive as is any similar work known to us. He went over the ground which most visitors to Europe from this country are likely to traverse, and such could scarcely have a better road-book than his. Readers of such works are well aware, that, though the same scenes and objects furnish the subject-matter of their contents, yet the varieties of judgment, the differences of mental and bodily vision, and the style of presentment which different tourists connect with them,

cause their pages to be as unlike as if they were writing on other themes. Mr. Clarke's readers will acknowledge that he offers them novelty, as well as good information and wise remark.

The University Speaker: a Collection of Pieces designed for College Exercises in Declamation and Recitation. With Suggestions on the Appropriate Elocution of Particular Passages. By WILLIAM RUSSELL. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 528.

MR. RUSSELL is so well known among us for his professional skill as a teacher of elocution, and has already so proved his abilities and judgment in the preparation of books for pupils in that department, that a new work from him needs no indorsement from us. We have looked through his new volume, and can heartily testify to its merits. His selections have a high literary and historical interest of their own, and his introductory hints for the proper understanding and reading of the several pieces will make them doubly acceptable to those who are to read them or to commit them to memory.

The Antigone of Sophocles, with Notes, for the Use of Colleges in the United States. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. New Edition, revised. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe and Company. 1851. pp. ix. and 140.

THE Antigone, as now presented to us, is improved in many particulars. The Preface has been enlarged by the introduction of a critique on Boeckh's view of this play; the text has received further corrections; and the notes, though still limited to about the same number of pages as before, have been much altered; many having been rewritten, a few omitted, and some important ones added, especially from the latest critics. Great learning has been devoted to the Antigone by foreign scholars, and it has been translated and explained by Professor Boeckh and others in Germany, and by Dr. Donaldson in England. The very abundant and valuable literature on Sophocles the editor appears to have had at hand, and our only wonder and disappointment is that he did not draw from it more freely. So much has been done for the Greek dramatists, first by the illustrious scholars of England, and after them by the Germans, that an editor might now deserve perhaps the highest praise, if he attempted the task of a mere compiler, selecting his materials with sound judgment and good taste from the rich stores already laid up for use.

These studies are in most respects so difficult, that an editor's labors, to answer the best purpose, should be copious as well as

exact. In reading President Woolsey's editions of the Tragedies, while we have seen and felt the value of what he has given us, we have wished for much which he has not given. Amid the references to grammars and lexicons and the works of verbal critics, valuable, indeed, and even indispensable though they are, we have wished more frequently to see one dramatist interpret the usages of another in respect to words and phrases, and have sometimes thought we missed a varied and elegant illustration and development of the grand γνῶμαι and the graceful and delicate sentiments in these pieces, and a nice discernment of the peculiar subtilties of the Greek poetic diction. But we would make our acknowledgment of what aid the editor has rendered us in this matter, rather than complain; and his uncommonly careful method of annotating, his fair treatment of the labors and views of other editors, his conscientious and reverential mode of dealing with his authors, cannot be sufficiently praised: these things exert their influence on the mind and spirit of the student, though he may be unconscious of it, and assist in forming his intellectual habits and in determining his social qualities. One of the highest results of the study of antiquity is thus attained, — a respect for what is just, and a love of what is beautiful and good, whenever and wherever it is found.

The commentary on the Antigone is not, we think, surpassed in excellence by any other work of the editor, but we add a word on a few of the notes, before we take leave of the book.

On verse 43, ξὺν τῇδε χερί is rendered "*with my hand, me.*" But τῇδε seems here to be employed δεικτικῶς, to use a term of the grammarians, as in v. 758. So Dr. Donaldson gives it: "*this hand of mine.*" Compare Virg. Æn. II. 291, 292: —

> "Si Pergama dextra
> Defendi possent, etiam *hac* defensa fuissent."

V. 200. The use of κατά in the sense assigned to it in the compound verbs here given, and of ἀνά with a contrary import, deserved a careful explanation.

V. 406. The interchange of the present and aorist tense in this verse is not noticed.

V. 567. No explanation is made of the construction in ἀλλ' ἦδε μέντοι μὴ λέγ'. We should have expected τὸ τῆσδε — μὴ λέγ', with τῆσδε repeated from the foregoing; as in Dem. *Orat. de Corona*, § 88: ὑμεῖς — τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω κτέ.

V. 1342. A reference to v. 2 remains here, as if the editor in the present edition still adhered to ὅ τι, his former reading in that verse.

This work, like all the others of President Woolsey, is printed with singular accuracy. We have remarked, however, on p. 8, l. 7, δρᾷν, and on p. 92, l. 13, τιμᾷν, while on p. 24, l. 12, we

find δρᾶν, and on p. 48, l. 6, the same; and on p. 117, last line, γένεσθαι.

"The Minister and Parish" is the title of a discourse delivered March 28, by Rev. Dr. Hill of Worcester, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination. It is the record of a quarter of a century's labors and experiences in one of the most pleasant of New England towns, and over one of the most enviable of the religious societies of the State. Dr. Hill, in a cheerful and serious tone, reviews the years which have passed over him with their changes, and in the statement of his own views and aims he reveals to us the conditions which have secured to him a most useful and peaceful ministry.

"A Sermon delivered before the Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, May 9, 1852, by Rev. Edward E. Hale," may be regarded as presenting the religious view of those facts which the author had already made public in his pamphlet on Emigration; and also as giving the results of all the discussions which have recently thrown light upon the sad theme here treated.

"The Beneficent Woman" is the appropriate title of a discourse preached by the Rev. Dr. Young of this city, in the church on Church Green, May 23, 1852, the Sunday following the decease of Mrs. Catharine G. Prescott. Here was indeed a rare opportunity for the exposition from the pulpit of the elements and traits of character which constitute the ideal of a Christian matron. Dr. Young has not failed to do justice to his attractive theme, nor to point its moral and illustrate its fruitful applications, in a sketch of the life and virtues of his esteemed parishioner. It is refreshing to turn from the coarse and obtrusive manifestations which some women have recently made of themselves by leaving their sphere, to the contemplation of a life so beautiful and so useful as that of Madam Prescott. The preacher evidently had in his mind the whole force of the contrast thus presented, and by delicate intimations, rather than by an actual drawing out of that contrast, he makes the former part of his discourse pregnant with wise and impressive lessons. His sketch of the marked traits of character in the beneficent woman whom he commemorates is evidently drawn from a long and intimate acquaintance with her, — extending over a quarter of a century, — and from a sincere reverence for her virtues. She was indeed a most excellent and useful woman, an attractive example of all that is engaging in a female character, and of all that is useful, devoted, and worthy in the Christian model. We have shared her kindness. It is easy for us to conceive of her as living now in a state conformed to the best uses of her life on the earth.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have published a volume of Sermons by Rev. Dr. Frothingham, late pastor of the First Church in this city. We hope to do justice to this volume in our next number. — The same firm has issued "A Manual of Devotions for Families and Sunday Schools," prepared by Rev. J. H. Allen, of Bangor, Me. This Manual is suited for use in the household, in day schools, and at occasional public services. The compiler is chiefly indebted to the Liturgy, though he has engaged the aid of friends in other selections and in a few original pieces.

Messrs. James Munroe & Co. have published a third edition of "A Manual of Prayer, for Public and Private Worship; with a Collection of Hymns." This is the service-book which was prepared ten years ago by the Rev. Mr. Eliot of St. Louis, for the use of his society. It has commended itself to general approval among those who think that our public services might be conducted with more devotional effect through some such aid, than by the old method of the Congregational churches. We should think that the number of hymns in this collection — there being but two hundred and seventy-two — was too limited for the various uses and occasions of public worship. It is plain that the question of service-books, or liturgical forms, is soon to be debated anew among us, as there are a few persons in our societies who are urgently desirous of introducing such aids to devotion.

The same firm has published a very pleasant story, by Julia Day, under the title of "The Old Engagement. A Spinster's Story." The title itself is a skilful one, and is an earnest of the frank communicativeness and the revelations of heart which will be found in its pages.

The Messrs. Harper of New York have republished in a neat form, in one volume, the Life and Letters of Niebuhr, which we commended to our readers in our last number. The English edition of this excellent work was so expensive that the wisdom in its pages could reach but few. Now it will have a wide circulation. — The same firm has also reprinted the translation of the fourth volume of Humboldt's Cosmos, a book already sufficiently discoursed upon in our pages to lead our readers to the vast stores of instruction which it offers. — The beautiful serial work in course of publication by the Harpers, Lossing's Field Book of the American Revolution, has reached its twenty-third number, and will be completed in one or two more numbers.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, who have published a large number of most useful elementary works containing the most recent fruits of science, have issued "The Elements of Geology, adapted to the Use of Schools and Colleges. By Professor Justin R. Loomis." The volume is admirably suited to its uses, and is highly trustworthy.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. continue to add new and most interesting volumes to their "Popular Library of the Best Authors." The epithet

which they have attached to this series of books has been well justified in the acceptance and favor which the volumes have met with. Embracing, as they do, a great variety in their contents, but always aiming to convey the very wisest instruction, whether through satire or a more sober vehicle, they give us the cream of our contemporary literature. For the traveller, the summer tourist, or the lover of pleasant reading at home, the books will be found the most desirable companions, as they are easy to carry, easy to hold, and most agreeable in the perusal. The Paris Sketch Book, in two volumes, by Thackeray; The Ingoldsby Legends, by Barham; and a selection of papers from the Quarterly Review, are the last additions to the series Humor, satire, marvels, and sober facts, presented with all the skill and vigor of lively pens, are made the mediums of imparting a genial wisdom and a harmless amusement. — The same firm have reprinted the beautiful story by Julia Kavanagh, entitled, "Madeleine: a Tale of Auvergne"; and also a posthumous work of Grace Aguilar, called, "The Days of Bruce, a Story of Scottish History." This story is edited by the mother of the deceased writer, and while there is enough in the veritable history of the hero and the incidents which it portrays to give it a sufficient and absorbing interest, the graceful pen of the writer adds many charms of its own.

From the same firm we have a volume of less than two hundred pages, entitled, "The Diplomacy of the Revolution: an Historical Study, by William Henry Trescot." This is a happily chosen theme, and the volume will be valued as an introduction or as a termination to a course of reading on our Revolution. Our relations to the other European powers during our war with England, the secret and public negotiations opened with them, the circumstances and events in their politics which had an influence on the fortunes of the United States, and the final measures for peace with Great Britain, are here succinctly and accurately related. We have thus in a very modest form much pregnant matter judiciously presented.

Redfield, of New York, has published in a beautiful form a new edition of the Poetical Works of Fitz-Greene Halleck, with some additional pieces. This favorite among American poets may rely upon an established reputation among all readers of English, from the schoolboy who loves to declaim his Marco Bozzaris, to Samuel Rogers, who, as the Rev. J. F. Clarke in his "Eleven Weeks in Europe" tells us, read in his presence the poem beginning "Green be the turf above thee," and added, "No man living can write such verses now." — The same publisher has issued a work by Dr. W. W. Hall of New York, on "Bronchitis and Kindred Diseases, in Language adapted to Common Readers." The book contains the best information and advice that are to be had upon its subject, and we commend it to all sufferers by that afflictive malady.

We are pleased to learn that Professor Felton of Harvard College has undertaken to prepare a memorial of the late Rev. Dr. John Snelling Popkin, his predecessor in the Eliot Professorship of Greek Literature. This is wholly a labor of love on the part of Mr. Felton, and we are glad that not only his own relationship of office, but an appreciative regard and esteem for the subject of his editorial pen, has moved him to the work. No one could perform this kind service in a better spirit or with more competent ability and information. The beautiful and kindly notice of Dr. Popkin which appeared in the Boston Daily

Advertiser, shortly after his decease, was then understood to have been written by Professor Felton. This, we understand, is to be the basis of the Memoir, which will be enriched by contributions from the Hon. D. A. White and others, contemporaries and friends of Dr. Popkin. Certainly the opportunity is a rare one, for drawing the portraiture of a somewhat eccentric, but most upright, scholarly, and faithful man, who, whether as a minister or an instructor, left upon those who knew him the impression of thorough integrity, of quaint wisdom, and of a discerning spirit, which looked farther into things and persons than the tongue always declared. If the book is ready on the coming occasion which is expected to draw the Alumni of the College from far and near, we think that the late Dr. Popkin's pupils will be eager to secure it, and to accompany the perusal of it with a running commentary furnished by their own memories. The volume is to contain the three Lectures on Liberal Education which were published in a pamphlet some years ago, some selections of other Lectures, and a few sermons, most of which have never appeared in print.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Anniversary Week. — So far as our own observation extended, we accord with the judgment which we find to be generally expressed in the papers and in conversation, that the exercises of Anniversary Week and the impressions made by them were of a highly satisfactory character. Without presenting any thing extraordinary or startling in the materials which entered into them, or offering any disturbing elements to excite bad feelings, they were serious and devotional in their prevailing spirit. Like all other human devices, these crowded gatherings and numerous associations bearing sacred titles must partake of imperfections. At the season of the year in which the seed of all our crops, the sustenance of our physical life, is committed to the ground, these meetings sow their seed, and lay their plans, and renew their efforts to cultivate the great field of Christian labor, — the whole world. Taken in the sum and fulness of their design and agency, they stand to remind us, in a very forcible way, that the great promise of the Saviour still lives in human hearts, and finds those who aim to fulfil it. That promise is, that the holy leaven of truth and love which he introduced into the world — which he *hid*, to use his own figure, — hid under the shows and surfaces of things — should never cease to work; but should mingle with all the agencies of human life, should appear in some evidences of its presence through every age, should inspire prayer and effort, should unite men and women in the sympathies of good works, and should set before every individual some way or method of promoting the purposes of the Gospel. If Anniversary Week did no more than merely stand as a token that what the Saviour said eighteen hundred years ago is not forgotten, but remembered, and believed in, and held as an aim that is possible and that ought to be kept in view, with efforts to realize it, that week would have a higher meaning and a nobler consecration than any other week of the whole year. It is a memorial of the unresting, active, planning spirit of Christian benevolence; a monument, inscribed with sacred names and duties, to the great Head of the Church. The chief persons in these meetings are those who teach and influence in various ways all the other members of the community, who

draw out and gather up our charities, who write our books, and edit our journals, and guide in many most important directions the sentiment of our large public circles. What they receive at these meetings they distribute again. These meetings, to a certain extent, represent the great Christian activities of the age. There is in them a power which works upon the world, which tells upon the actual wants and sins of the world. No one who is himself heartily engaged in any good work ever doubts of the efficiency of any good design or enterprise; and no other person is a judge in the case. We need not exaggerate the real influence of these public meetings, with their addresses and discussions. They do not accomplish the hardest nor the highest work of life, for that each person has to do in and upon and for himself. But there is a place in every large community for such agencies and efforts. They vindicate their use by continuing year after year to gather assemblies. The tongue, as at the first Christian Pentecost, may be in them the principal instrumentality, but tongues are not patiently listened to on such occasions, unless they are inspired by just and living sentiments.

We proceed to make our usual brief record of such of the meetings as claim a notice in our pages.

The Massachusetts Bible Society held its Annual Meeting in the Winter Street Church, on Monday afternoon, May 24th, the President, Hon. Simon Greenleaf, in the chair. Prayer was offered and selections from the Scriptures were read by Rev. Mr. Holdrich, Methodist. Rev. Dr. Parkman, the Secretary of the Society, read the Annual Report. The usual method of proceeding — by which speakers representing various religious denominations are engaged beforehand to address the meeting — was observed on this occasion. Speeches were made by Rev. Dr. Vinton, Episcopalian; Rev. Mr. Janes, Methodist; Rev. T. S. King, Unitarian; Rev. Dr. Sears, Baptist; and Rev. Mr. Whiting, Orthodox Congregationalist. The highest encomiums have been passed upon the eloquent and fervent speech of Mr. King, which brought out with a most impressive force the wealth and power of the Bible, in its biographies and portraitures, its development of the great moral elements of character, and its illustrations through human life of its own solemn doctrines. Even the brief sketch of this speech which has been reported will convey to its readers some portion of the pleasure and instruction which it imparted to its hearers.

The American Peace Society held its Annual Meeting in Park Street Church, on Monday evening, May 25, a thronged congregation being present. The Address was delivered by Rev. F. D. Huntington, and was of a most able and impressive character. When it appears in print, the wise way in which the speaker treated the mischievous enterprise of Kossuth in this country will command general approbation. We are sorry to learn that the discord which for two years has agitated the business meetings of this Society, and which is so painfully inappropriate to its harmonious objects, is not yet quieted.

The Annual Meeting of the American Unitarian Association took place on Tuesday, May 25th. The business affairs of the Association engaged the forenoon at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour. The President, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, occupied the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Joseph Richardson of Hingham; portions of the Annual

Report were read by the Secretary, Rev. Calvin Lincoln; and Henry P. Fairbanks, Esq., Treasurer, stated the receipts and expenditures of the Association. The officers elected by ballot for the year ensuing are as follows: *President*, Rev. S. K. Lothrop; *Vice-Presidents*, Rev. E. B. Hall, D. D., and Hon. Stephen Fairbanks; *Executive Committee*, Isaiah Bangs, Esq., Hon. Albert Fearing, Rev. H. A. Miles, D. D., Rev. G. W. Briggs, and Rev. W. R. Alger; *Secretary*, Rev. Calvin Lincoln; *Treasurer*, Henry P. Fairbanks, Esq. The public exercises were held in the Rev. Dr. Gannett's church, Federal Street, where prayer was offered by the Rev. James W. Thompson, D. D., and the Report of the Secretary was read at length. This document was of a most interesting nature, and while it presented in due prominence those denominational views and obligations which befitted the occasion, it made all sectarian efforts subservient to the sacred cause in which all Christian hearts are united. A spirit of fervent and modest piety, a zeal tempered by wise experience, and a knowledge of the practical obstacles and encouragements in the way of our work, were striking features of this Report. Three points were made prominent in it: the motive which we as Unitarians have for our denominational efforts; the view which we cherish of the Saviour, as our hope and the world's Redeemer; and the necessity of missionary zeal in our body. The President made these three points into leading heads of remark, under which he called for Hon. Samuel Hoar, Rev. F. H. Hedge, Rev. E. E. Hale, and Rev. A. P. Peabody, to address the meeting successively. These gentlemen complied with his request, and the evening was profitably spent under influences eminently devotional and inspiriting. The Rev. Mr. Shippen of Chicago, a delegate from the Western Unitarian Conference, responded briefly to a welcome extended to him, and expressed the grateful feelings of Unitarians at the West for the fraternal aid and sympathy which they had received from this region.

The form which the self-criticism, so common with us, took in the discussion connected with our business meeting, was the assertion, in most unqualified terms, that our zeal and liberality fell far short of our duty and ability, and brought us into unfavorable comparison with other denominations of Christians. To the former part of this charge we fully assent. Indeed, that is always a safe accusation for every class of men, and for every individual man, to utter in self-judgment. The latter portion of the charge — that we are relatively not so liberal, in our donations for what we regard religious objects, as are other denominations — was at once brought into question. Lacking, as we do, that harrowing motive which our Orthodox brethren professedly feel as the impulse of their missions to the heathen, namely, a belief that an ignorance of the Gospel insures their everlasting perdition, we, of course, do not devote money to that special object. Not believing, as other bodies of Christians profess to believe, that the doom of nominal Christians depends upon the speculative and doctrinal opinions which they may hold, we cannot be expected to be as zealous as they are in the propagation of a creed. But taking our own estimate of the whole province, work, applications, and intended effects of true Christianity, we believe that our gifts to advance its humane and sacred purposes, while affording us no occasion for boasting even before men, will at least secure us from all reproachful comparisons with other bodies of Christians. Our funds go rather to the relief and comfort of the poor, to instruct and protect the sailor, the orphan, and the widow, and to spread the blessings of educa-

tion and good culture, than in any direct efforts in behalf of our doctrinal creed. And even when our several churches and congregations, or members of them, contribute money to build up or aid societies of our own faith, only a very small proportion of the funds is given through this Association, to be recognized through the report of our Treasurer.

This periodical having been established for the statement and defence of those views which are known by the epithet *Unitarian*, or, as some prefer to entitle them, *just and liberal and rational* views of Christianity, it is but proper that from year to year we should take particular note of the progress and prospects of a cause which is so very dear to us. For ourselves, we have learned to look for encouragement as to the steady, though gradual, progress of our distinctive religious opinions, and to find the conditions under which alone that progress will be made, in the historical facts involved in the development of Unitarian opinions at various periods of time. After the third century, the Trinitarian theology had wellnigh supplanted the simple doctrines of the New Testament. A train of agencies and circumstances similar to that which substituted for Gospel freedom, purity, and spirituality, the devices of prelatical and ecclesiastical despotism, the ritual, the hierarchy, and the superstitious practices of Rome, substituted also a doctrinal and philosophical system very unlike to that of Christ and his Apostles. The opportunities and influences which tended to extend and confirm this perverted system were very many and very powerful, and they have never been sufficiently allowed for or insisted on. Philosophy corrupted the Gospel for the learned; credulity, ignorance, and mental inaction made the mass of the people to be the easy disciples of a false theology. The religious systems advocated by the learned were based on the elements of the old paganism, and the Christian superstructure conformed itself to the foundation. A selection might be made from the writings of the Fathers, which would leave it doubtful whether the old heathen elements of a polytheistic, sacrificial, and ritual faith, or the new leaven of the Gospel, predominated in their minds. The popular religion was received from such teachers, and for a long period we find precisely the same phenomena in Christian history which we find in Jewish history, — a pure faith struggling against the stupid and clouded fancies of half-enlightened minds, and religious observances strangely partaking of the most incongruous forms and practices. Of course the Christian element was constantly seeking to clear itself from its corrupt admixtures, but through the Middle Ages a system of doctrinal and ceremonial religion had established itself which presented at every point something wholly inconsistent with true Christianity. At the Reformation the Trinitarian doctrines did not pass unquestioned, although the stress and heat of the strife were about other matters The standard translations of the Scriptures into all the modern languages were made by men biased by Trinitarian opinions, and many passages may be indicated which show this bias, one of the effects of which, of course, was to make those passages available as proof-texts for Trinitarianism up to this day. But now the striking fact presents itself to our notice, that, in spite of all the influences of established and prevailing sentiments, the force of prejudice, and the tendency of education in and under Trinitarian doctrines, — obstacles very difficult to overcome, — an almost unbroken line of Christian scholars may be traced through every age, who obscurely or distinctly intimate that they rejected the dogmas whether of Augustine or Calvin, and accepted those views which we embrace.

And a yet more striking fact presents itself as the ground of our confidence in the extension of our peculiar views of the Gospel. A half-century ago, nearly a whole generation of Christian ministers and laymen in this Commonwealth slowly divested themselves of Calvinistic opinions, and as slowly adopted the views which are now known as Unitarianism. This is a most signal testimony, and one very difficult to refute or invalidate. The only attempt which has ever been made to meet the force of this fact, and of the inferences which a candid mind would draw from it, involves a charge of insincerity and concealment against a number of as excellent and honorable persons as have ever lived, and who had no motive for such deception. This absurd charge is fairly met by the considerations, that that remarkable change of opinions was a very slow one, and was made by unconscious stages; that it was taken up by one generation where it had been left incomplete by the preceding generation; that the subjects of it, as Protestants and independent Congregationalists, were not bound to declare from day to day the phases of their religious opinions; and that they rejected the title of *Unitarians* when first applied to them, because of the radicalism and materialism which were associated with it in England. But the fact is a most remarkable one, let what will be said of its incidental, temporary accompaniments. Here was a large number of ministers, the honored pastors of our churches, men of learning and integrity, and respected for their private and professional characters, men educated in Calvinism, who renounced it. Here were laymen, — magistrates, judges, intelligent merchants, clear-headed farmers, and mechanics, — men in all the walks of life, respected and confided in; women, too, of high culture, of true piety, and famed in all the household virtues; — all educated as Calvinists, but whose hearts and faith it failed to satisfy.

The subjects of this marked change of religious or doctrinal sentiment had made a faithful study of the Bible. Among the papers of those old ministers, and of some of the more prominent laymen, have been found elaborate notes from the study of the Scriptures, in which are balanced texts and arguments, showing the process by which truth worked against early and strong prejudices. The subjects of that change were also warmly attached to religious institutions. Indeed, every noble Christian enterprise received an impulse from them. They were free to think for themselves. They were unawed by any ecclesiastical authority. If they were prejudiced at all, it was in favor of the views which were identified with an honored ancestry, and which were associated with their own religious training in youth. There could not possibly have been a more decisive token of the lack of truth and power in the peculiar tenets of New England Orthodoxy, than the gradual and quiet manner in which it decayed, without being assailed. It was surrendered by those who were born and trained to be its defenders. Nor did they condemn, much less aim their open hostility against it, until what they had discovered to be the rottenness of Orthodoxy was proposed to them as the very life of the Gospel. We maintain that true Christian experience, a devotional and intelligent study of the Scriptures, a desire to be free from all prejudices, a conscious responsibility to only such laws as are conformable to the manifest will of God, and a hearty desire for a faith which should satisfy the affections and the reason, were the instrumentalities of this remarkable change of doctrinal belief half a century ago, in New England.

Nor only in New England, but all over Christendom, have those same causes wrought the same and similar effects. They explain to us the religious history of such distinguished Christian scholars as Grotius and Le Clerc. They account for the rise among the English Dissenters of a class of Christians who, for their lives, characters, and labors, may claim universal respect. Holland and Geneva have witnessed the operation of the same causes with the same results. The Established Church of England is well known to have retained the nominal allegiance of many distinguished divines and laymen, — of these, however, we will make no boast, — who needed only more clearness of vision, or consistency of thought, or candor of declaration, or superiority to some domestic or conventional feelings, to have caused them to be ranked as witnesses to the same truth. Even in Rome, and throughout Roman Catholic Italy, there have been, from the period of the Reformation up to this day, very many Unitarians.

Now our ground of confidence in the gradual and steady extension of our views is found in the simple law, that the same causes will produce the same effects. We are perfectly willing to rest our hope for the increasing prevalence of our doctrinal opinions, upon what we consider the most honorable and cogent fact in their past history. We accept, too, the same terms and conditions of further progress as appear to have prevailed heretofore. It is a rather singular and very significant truth, that Unitarianism seemed to win its most difficult and most extensive conquest when there was no direct exertion made in its behalf, when the only cultivation it received was from the mould of decaying Calvinism, — which, perhaps, we ought to speak of respectfully, because its decay operated like a rich compost for the crop that was to spring from it. The first generation of Unitarians were not made so by tracts, or by an association. No combined agency, no denominational action whatever, was at work. It does not appear that at any conferences or ministerial meetings heresy came in by debate. Unitarianism was neither advocated nor expounded. It grew of itself, from the causes which we have mentioned. Those causes and agencies, then, we believe to be still the most effective instrumentalities for the promotion of Unitarianism. Where they are not at work, any direct sectarian effort which we can exert will accomplish but little. Where they are at work, we have no more distrust as to the constant progress of our views, than we have of the effects of sunlight and air on meadows and gardens. Let the Scriptures be believed and valued and intelligently studied, let religious principles and institutions be heartily upheld, let a sense of spiritual liberty and accountability keep the soul free from man's impositions and in allegiance to God's laws, and let prejudices be set aside, and we will trust Unitarianism to its destiny. This test was put into application at the revival of our distinctive doctrinal views. We think it fair and just, beyond all debate. We are willing to rise or to fall by its applications in all future time.

So inadequate, in the view of some, has been the success of the efforts made by us in the way of proselytism, when compared with the ready adoption of our views before any such efforts were made, that it might seem as if whatever zeal we had exhibited had even injured our cause. Some may say that our cause prospered best when we did nothing in an antagonistic or sectarian way to advance it, but left Unitarianism to work its sure progress through the healthful influences already mentioned. If there be truth in this view, then there will be comfort in

the thought that we never yielded ourselves to any consuming zeal of a sectarian character. The apparent grounds for such a conclusion will readily occur to our minds. Two or three of them, at least, may be mentioned. The sharp definitions, and often naked abstractions and scholastic statements, into which our first Unitarians were sometimes driven in our controversy, had an unfavorable effect on many minds that were in a transition state, and made our theology unattractive to them. Again, the extreme reproaches which our Orthodox opponents heaped upon our views, in charging them with artifice, infidelity, covert deceit, and a dishonest treatment of the Scriptures, actually found some to credit them, and thus withstood in some quarters those tendencies of thought which were leading many into sympathy with us. And, once more, the fact that a few individuals from our communion have gone to the extremes of rationalism, has alarmed many. Their nervous fright has been aggravated by the positive assertion from unfriendly quarters, that those who resolve the contents of the Bible into myth and fable do but carry out in a legitimate way our principles of interpretation. The obvious answer to this last charge is, that the issue between Unitarians and Trinitarians concerns the *meaning* of records whose authenticity and historic faithfulness both parties admit and maintain: while the issue between believers and unbelievers in a revelation concerns the *credibility* and *authority* of those records. But this simple answer to a plausible objection has not occurred to all who may have been alarmed by the imputation cast upon the tendency of our Scriptural criticisms. It is a fact, recognized by writers most opposed to us in doctrinal opinion, that the most laborious and effective works in support of the authenticity and the credibility of the New Testament have come from the pens of Unitarians. Lardner and Norton will always sustain our claims in that direction.

These and other reasons might be given to account for the fact, — if it be a fact, — that our efforts in proselytism have not sensibly advanced our cause in any degree conformed to our reasonable expectations. We should, however, question the fact, at least in its unqualified assertion. We believe that the same causes which led the first generation of New England Unitarians, ministers and laymen, to adopt their views, are still in operation, and are everywhere working like effects. On this point we have no misgiving.

We care not to draw sharp distinctions between ourselves and Trinitarians. The line between us has become blurred, and in some places has been so trodden by passing feet, and by some that stand upon it, that we are not anxious to keep it fresh, still less to deepen it into a ditch or to build over it a breastwork for further hostilities with bristling weapons. But still we cannot for a moment allow that any essential step has as yet been taken towards reconciling the distinctive and peculiar tenets of Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. If all that we have read of Trinitarian theology has not clouded rather than enlightened our minds as to its prominent doctrines, we understand it as offering to us two very distinct points at which we are at issue with it. First, it confounds Christ and God; so that, instead of two distinct beings whose relation to each other and to men must lie at the basis of all intelligent and practical views of the Gospel, we have one being, now on the throne of heaven, then in the house of Peter or Lazarus; now praying, then hearing prayer; now dying on the cross, and then accepting his own death as a penalty paid to him by another. Here is inextricable

confusion, through which we cannot carry one clear thought or one intelligible idea: how, then, can we make such a theory the very root and life of our faith! The second point at which we are left still at issue with the Trinitarians, after all the attempts which have been made to reconcile our differences, is this. The essential peculiarity of their view of the Atonement is, that the death of Christ is made effective for our salvation through some mysterious, sacrificial influence which it wrought upon God: whereas the distinctive doctrine which we maintain on that point — leaving the mysterious efficacy of the death of Christ with God unthought of — is, that that last scene, like the whole of the Saviour's life, was designed to affect the heart and life of man, and to reconcile him to God. The confusion of mind which Trinitarianism causes us on the former point is increased, if possible, by the theory of its doctrine of the Atonement; for where two beings are needed, we have but one, if Christ be in any sense God. Here, then, are two very distinct divergences of doctrine, and they indicate to us the fundamental issues between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism. The Unitarian may choose from an almost infinite variety of views concerning the nature of Christ, as opinions among us do range from high Arianism to simple Humanitarianism. But still the Unitarian makes no concession to the theory which confounds the Being who sent with the being who was sent. The Unitarian may object to define even in his own mind the mode in which the death of Christ is made efficacious to salvation. But so long as he regards the cross as making its tenderest appeals to man, rather than to God, his belief is that it is man, and not God, who needs to be moved by that great sacrifice. We are at a loss to find any middle ground on which Christians can plant their faith between these opposing doctrinal theories. We know that the ambiguity of words and the modes of interpreting doctrinal formularies will cover much debatable ground. But when the question is concerning clear ideas, and intelligible propositions, we find it necessary to classify Christians under the one or the other category of Unitarians or Trinitarians. Without the least inclination to attach names to those who dislike to bear them, with sincere respect for those who think they stand on middle ground, and with a strong conviction that piety may thrive amid many different inclosures of faith, we nevertheless feel constrained to say that Unitarianism or Trinitarianism constitute the actual alternatives of religious opinion.

The Rev. Mr. Stearns of Cambridge Port, — a man whom we hold in profound regard and esteem for his excellence and purity of spirit, — in the discourse which he delivered this year before the Orthodox Pastoral Association, is reported by the New York Independent of June 3, as having advised his brethren to assume "a less repellent attitude toward our opponents of the Unitarian school." It is also said, that "he brought into distinct and grateful recognition the fact of which the fathers prophesied at the time of the separation, that some of the people and ministers are returning to the Orthodox faith." Now while we would gratefully reciprocate every kind and fraternal sentiment from that quarter, and do devoutly pray that the old acrimony of our strife may never be revived, we must plead our ignorance of any facts which indicate a return to Orthodoxy among our ministers or our people. The same implication is again conveyed in the same journal as warranted by the exercises at one of our conference meetings. The writer adds: "Already exchanges might take place between ministers of so-called

Unitarian churches, and those of Orthodox, with no compromise of the truth, or indorsement of error. God hasten it in his time!" Again we reciprocate the fraternal sentiment. But we are still troubled by misgivings. It would be painful indeed, if by and by these kind prognostics and promising signs should be recalled and denied, and we should be visited with a renewal of some old censures upon our use of ambiguous phraseology. May it not be that what our Orthodox brethren regard as tokens of some assimilation between us and them are to be explained by some more intelligible influences which have wrought upon either party respectively? Thus, our old controversy led us to advance many negative statements, and to bring forward our denials; a necessity which seemed to reduce our faith to its minimum. Calmer but as earnest times have brought out the positive force of those spiritual, evangelical views, which live as vigorously in our theology as in any other doctrinal system maintained throughout Christendom. At the same time our Orthodox brethren who had been driven from us in great part by their own depreciating and dreary representations of us as teachers of infidel or lifeless moral tenets, have learned that we never gave up the Gospel, and are many of them willing now to suppose that we never intended to give up any thing that we believe to be contained in the Gospel. The Orthodox claimed certain Scriptural terms and religious phraseology as exclusively their own, and resolved that such expressions should never be divorced from the ideas associated with them in their minds. For a time Unitarians gave over the use of such expressions, not because they for a moment yielded to the claim just alluded to, but because they wished to use expressions that would not keep alive erroneous conceptions. Now and recently the Orthodox see and hear that some among us are using what they think is their phraseology, and discussing some of their favorite themes somewhat after their style. It is evident that the facts which we have stated allow of inferences varying in depth and breadth according to the candor and fairness with which they are drawn, and the intelligence which is exercised about them. Our only anxiety is, that they may not be stretched beyond the truth in any case.

Western Unitarian Association. — Among the new religious enterprises from which we hope for much good fruit in the growth of Christian institutions over our country, we have now to mention the establishment of a Western Unitarian Association. A Convention of Unitarian ministers and laymen was held at Cincinnati, from May 7th to May 11th, at which, after much discussion, a constitution was drawn up, and plans were arranged for the annual gathering of the representatives of our churches at the West. Considering the wide distances in space over which our brethren there have their fields of labor, and that the nearest route from Boston requires a journey of nearly a thousand miles, all reasonable expectations were fulfilled by the presence at Cincinnati of four Unitarian ministers from the East, and sixteen from that side of the mountains. Very earnest and spirited exercises marked the occasion. Conference and prayer meetings were held on the mornings during which the Convention was in session. Three discourses were delivered beside those preached at the usual Sunday services. The Lord's Supper was administered, and the bonds of Christian sympathy were strengthened by social intercourse. Without offering any thing especially exciting or brilliant to draw off attention from the calm and delib-

erate wisdom which is most effective in such enterprises, the occasion met the wishes of our friends, and offers them a basis for hope. Our cause at the West presents to us an encouraging aspect. We have there several vigorous societies, no longer served by birds of passage from the East, but by men identified in their life's work with the regions and the inhabitants of our distant territory. The School at Meadville will supply from year to year the increasing demand which is sure to be made for new laborers. The noble church and the large and strong congregation at St. Louis is a monument of faithful, pastoral labor, and a token that equal devotion may look in other places for a similar reward. The flourishing society at Louisville, so fondly attached to its minister, is exerting a wide influence. The new church at Wheeling has a fair prospect of success. Detroit, Chicago, Geneva, and Galena are favored with the services of faithful ministers. Our cause at the West owes very much to the zeal and liberality and consistent efforts of Mr. Nahum Ward, of Marietta, Ohio. As one of the pioneers in his own region, a gentleman whose business relations have brought him into constant intercourse with a great variety of persons, and a most intelligent and warm-hearted Christian, strong in his Unitarian convictions, and equally urbane and decided in the expression of them, his influence has been very large. He has distributed tracts and books, has argued with opponents and strengthened friends, and, without confining his liberality to his own denomination, has always extended to its interests his best deeds. We have great hopes for the cause of liberal and enlightened religion at the West.

Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts. — This body, which still serves as the chief visible bond of union between the pastors and churches of the Congregational order in this Commonwealth, held its annual meeting, as usual, on the old "Election Day," Wednesday, May 26th, in the Supreme Court Room. Rev. Dr. Putnam, the Preacher for the year, officiated as Moderator. The usual reports of the Treasurer, Auditor, Central Committee, and Trustees of the Monis Fund, were presented and accepted. The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, an incorporated institution whose benevolent object — the relief of the widows and orphans of Congregational ministers — is identical with the object of the Convention, holds in trust a fund of $7,000 belonging to the Convention, and has in its own treasury funds which raise the whole amount consecrated to this charity to one hundred and three thousand dollars. The Rev. Mr. Trask of Fitchburg, in behalf of a committee, presented a report on the use of tobacco. The matter, not falling strictly within the purposes and scope of the Convention, did not detain the interest of the members, and was disposed of by a recommitment. The Rev. Dr. Todd of Pittsfield was elected as Second Preacher for the next year. It was announced on the next day, after the sermon, that the Rev. Mr. Hooker, of Falmouth, who stood as First Preacher for the next year, had declined the appointment. Dr. Todd, therefore, accedes to that office, and the Central Committee were charged with providing a substitute if any emergency should arise. Thanks were voted to Rev. Dr. Lowell on his resignation of the place which he had so faithfully filled, for forty years, on the Central Committee.

The Convention Sermon was preached in Brattle Street Church on Thursday, by Rev. Dr. Putnam. Text, Romans ii. 15. Subject, Conscience. The collection amounted to $334.14.

The Sunday School Society. — The twenty-fifth anniversary of this society was celebrated on Wednesday evening, May 26th, in the Federal Street Church; Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, President, in the chair. The Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre opened the exercises with prayer. A juvenile choir contributed most appropriate aid to the services. The Rev. S. H. Winkley, the Secretary, read the Annual Report. The basis of this document was a statistical summary of the rise, growth, and number of the Sunday schools connected with our denomination, and its spirit and advice were well suited to infuse new zeal into the enterprise. Remarks were then offered by the President, by Rev. A. R. Pope of Somerville, Rev. O. C. Everett of Charlestown, Rev. John Cordner of Montreal, His Excellency Governor Boutwell, Rev. F. W. Holland of East Cambridge, Rev. A. P. Peabody of Portsmouth, and Hon. John C. Park of Boston. Mr. Peabody paid a most touching tribute — though at a severe trial of his own feelings, which nearly choked his utterance — to the eminent Christian virtues of his late parishioner, Deacon John W. Foster, probably the most successful and devoted of Sunday school superintendents.

Children's Mission. — The third anniversary of this modest agency of Christian benevolence was held in the Bulfinch Street Church, on Thursday afternoon, May 27th, Manlius S. Clarke, the President, in the chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Moses G. Thomas of New Bedford. The Treasurer, Benjamin H. Greene, and the Secretary, George Merrill, read their respective reports, and brief addresses were made by the following gentlemen: Rev. R. C. Waterston, Rev. F. T. Gray, Rev. C. F. Barnard, and Rev. S. H. Winkley, of Boston, Rev. Ralph Sanger of Dover, and Rev. Mr. Orrell of Providence, R. I.

The Collation. — This festival, provided by the Unitarian laity of Boston for the social enjoyment of their guests during Anniversay Week, was held at Assembly Hall, on Tuesday afternoon, May 25th. Nearly, if not quite, one thousand persons, more than half of them women, were seated at the tables, and they were welcomed by Deacon Clement Willis, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Deacon Samuel Greele presided on the occasion. A blessing was asked by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, and thanks were returned by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth. The spirit of this festival was most admirably caught and communicated by Deacon Greele, who presided to the acceptance of all, and by most felicitous remarks, from time to time, called out the following gentlemen to address the guests: His Excellency Governor Boutwell, Rev. T. S. King, Hon. John C. Park, Rev. W. Mountford, Rev. W. G. Heyer, Rev. John Cordner, Hon. D. A. White, Rev. W. R. Alger, Rev. Mr. Taylor, Hon. James Savage, Deacon Willis, and Rev. Henry Giles. Amid the happy sensations which attended the close of these festivities, arrangements were made for their renewal next year.

Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen. — This Society is slowly accumulating the means which will enable its treasury from year to year to contribute sums, small it may be in amount, but still of a value most gratefully appreciated, to the disabled and dependent brethren of our denomination. Donations are from time to time acknowledged by the Treasurer, and, in view of the many appeals for equally worthy objects which are made in our community, there is rea-

son to commend the spontaneous kindness which has to such an extent favored this Society. For any large addition to its funds, it must look to bequests from those whose Christian sympathies may lead them to choose this direction for some portion of their wealth. The society held its third annual meeting on Wednesday morning, May 26, in the chapel of the Church of the Saviour, Rev. Dr. Frothingham presiding. The Treasurer, Rev. Dr. E. Peabody, read his Annual Report, but no public announcement is made of the recipients from its funds. The officers of the Society were reëlected.

Ministerial Conference. — This gathering of Liberal Christian ministers was held in the chapel of the Church of the Saviour, on Wednesday, May 26th, extending its sessions over both parts of the day and part of the day following. Rev. John Pierpont was chosen Moderator. Rev. E. E. Hale offered prayer. Rev. F. D. Huntington was reëlected Scribe of the Conference, and the gentlemen composing the Standing Committee were rechosen. The whole business of the Conference was facilitated by the rigid and methodical rules which were established for its guidance two years ago. The morning address, on Theology, was by Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton; the afternoon address, on Reform, was by Rev. A. P. Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H. The delivery of each address was followed by a discussion, which was necessarily brief and most imperfect. Indeed, the multiplication of addresses and meetings in Anniversary Week tends rather to impair the advantage to be gained from them, as brethren are distracted in their interest, and must rush away from one place to be present at another.

Conference and Prayer Meetings, and the Lord's Supper. — These devotional agencies of Anniversary Week were earnestly sustained this year. Meetings were held each morning at an early hour, each day in a different church, which were attended by throngs. The Lord's Supper was administered on Thursday evening, May 27, by Rev. John Cordner, in the Federal Street Church.

Installations. — The Rev. Theodore H. Dorr, formerly of Billerica and East Lexington, was installed Pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Winchendon, on Wednesday, June 2. Introductory Prayer by the Rev. E. G. Adams; Selections from Scripture by the Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge; Sermon by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln; Prayer of Installation by the Rev. J. S. Brown; Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. W. P. Tilden; Address to the Society by the Rev. Dr. Hill; Concluding Prayer by the Rev. W. O. White.

The Rev. M. W. Willis was installed Pastor of the Unitarian Church and Society in Bath, Me., on Wednesday, June 12. Introductory Prayer by the Rev. C. Palfrey; Selections from Scripture by the Rev. S. Judd; Sermon by the Rev. S. K. Lothrop; Prayer of Installation by the Rev. Dr. Nichols; Charge by the Rev. Dr. J. W. Thompson; Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. R. P. Cutler; Address to the Society by the Rev. F. T. Gray; Concluding Prayer by the Rev. J. Cole.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1852.

Art. I. — THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS: ITS DOCTRINE OF THE LAST THINGS.

The Epistle to the Hebrews was written by some person who was originally a Jew, afterwards a zealous Christian. He was unqestionably a man of remarkable talent and eloquence, and of lofty religious views and feelings. He lived in the time of the immediate followers of our Lord, and was apparently acquainted with them. The individual authorship it is now impossible to determine with certainty. Among the most learned, most unprejudiced, and ablest critics, a majority have ascribed it to Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew, a compeer of Paul, and a fellow-citizen of Philo. This opinion is certainly more probable than any other. Indeed, so numerous are the resemblances of thoughts and words in the writings of Philo to those in this Epistle, that even the wild conjecture has been hazarded, that Philo himself at last became a Christian, and wrote to his Hebrew countrymen the essay which has since commonly passed for Paul's. No one can examine the hundreds of illustrations of the Epistle gathered from Philo by Carpzov, in his learned but ill-reasoned work, without being struck and impressed. The supposition which has repeatedly been accepted and urged, that this composition was first writ-

ten in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Greek by another person, is absurd, when we examine the masterly skill and eloquence, critical niceties, and felicities in the use of language displayed in it. We could easily fill a paragraph with the names of those eminent in the Church, — such as Tertullian, Hippolytus, Erasmus, Luther, Le Clerc, and Neander, — who have concluded that, whoever the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was, he was not Paul. The list of these names would reach from the Egyptian Origen, whose candor and erudition were without parallel in his age, to the German Bleek, whose masterly and exhaustive work is a monument of united talent and toil, leaving little to be desired. It is not within our present aim to argue this point; therefore we will simply refer the reader to the thorough and unanswerable discussion and settlement of it by Mr. Andrews Norton, in this journal, in the volumes for 1827 – 29.

The general object of the composition is, by showing the superiority of the Christian system to the Hebrew, to arm the converts from Judaism, to whom it is addressed, against the temptations to desert the fulfilling faith of Christ, and to return to the emblematic faith of their fathers. This aim gives a pervading cast and color to the entire treatment — to the reasoning, and especially to the chosen imagery — of the Epistle. Omitting for the most part, at present, whatever is not essentially interwoven with the subject of death, the resurrection, and future existence, and with the mission of Christ in relation to those subjects, we advance to the consideration of the views which the Epistle presents, or implies, concerning those points. It is to be premised, that here, as in the case of Paul, we are forced to construct from fragments and hints the theological fabric that stood in the mind of the writer. The suggestion also is quite obvious, that, since the letter is addressed solely to the Hebrews, and describes Christianity as the completion of Judaism, an acquaintance with the characteristic Hebrew opinions and hopes at that time may be indispensable for a full comprehension of its contents.

The view of the intrinsic nature and rank of Christ on which the Epistle rests, seems very plainly to be that great Logos-doctrine which floated in the philosophy of the Apostolic age, and is so fully developed in the Gospel of

John; — "The Logos of God, alive, energetic, irresistibly piercing, to whose eyes all things are bare and open" (ii. 12, 13); "first-begotten of God" (i. 6); "faithful to Him that made him" (iii. 2); inferior to God, superior to all beside; "by whom God made the worlds" (i. 2); whose seat is at the right hand of God, the angels looking up to him, and "the world to come put in subjection to him" (ii. 5). The author, thus assuming the immensely superhuman rank and the preëxistence of Christ, teaches that by the good-will of God he descended to the world in the form of a man, to save them that were without faith and in fear, — them that were lost through sin. God "bringeth in the first-begotten into the world." (i. 6.) "When he cometh into the world he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared for me." (x. 5.) "Jesus was made a little while inferior to the angels." (ii. 9.) "Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise partook of the same" (ii. 14); that is, in order to pass through an experience like that of those whom he wished to deliver, he assumed their nature (ii. 17, 18). "He taketh not hold of angels, but he taketh hold of the seed of Abraham" (ii. 16); in other words, he aimed not to assist angels, but men. These passages, taken in connection with the whole scope and drift of the document in which they are found, declare that Jesus was a spirit in heaven, but came to the earth, taking upon him a mortal frame of flesh and blood.

Why he did this, is the question that naturally arises next. We do not see how it is possible for any person to read the Epistle through intelligently, in the light of an adequate knowledge of contemporary Hebrew opinions, and not perceive that the author's answer to that inquiry is, that Christ assumed the guise and fate of humanity in order to die, and died in order to rise from the dead, and rose from the dead in order to ascend to heaven, and ascended to heaven in order to reveal the grace of God opening the way for the celestial exaltation and blessedness of the souls of faithful men. We will commence the proof and illustration of these statements by bringing together some of the principal passages in the Epistle which involve the objects of the mission of Christ, and then stating the thought that chiefly underlies and explains them.

"We see Jesus — who was made a little while inferior to the angels, in order that by the kindness of God he might taste death for every man — through the suffering of death crowned with glory and honor." (ii. 9.) With the best critics, we have altered the arrangement of the clauses in the foregoing verse to make the sense clearer. The exact meaning is, that the exaltation of Christ to heaven after his death, authenticated his mission, showed that his death had a divine meaning for men; that is, showed that they also should rise to heaven. "When he had by himself made a purification of our sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high." (i. 3.) "For this cause he is the Mediator of the new covenant, that, his death having occurred (for the redemption of the transgressions under the first covenant), they which are called might enter upon possession of the promised eternal inheritance." (ix. 15.) The force of this last passage, with its context, turns on the double sense of the Greek word for *covenant*, which likewise means *a will*. Several statements in the Epistle show the author's belief that the subjects of the old dispensation had the *promise* of immortal life in heaven, but had never realized the thing itself.* Now he maintains the purpose of the new dispensation to be the actual revelation and bestowment of the reality which anciently was only promised and typically foreshadowed; and in the passage before us he figures Christ — the author of the Christian covenant — as the maker of a will by which believers are appointed heirs of a heavenly immortality. He then, following the analogy of testamentary legacies and legatees, describes those heirs as "entering on possession of that eternal inheritance" (ix. 15) "by the death of the Testator" (ix. 16). He was led to employ precisely this language by two obvious reasons: first, for the sake of that *paronomasia* of which he was evidently fond; secondly, by the fact that it really was the death of Christ, with the succeeding resurrection and ascension, which demonstrated both the reality of the thing promised in the will, and the authority of the Testator to bestow it.

* xi. 13, 16, *et al.* See chap. x. 36, where *to receive the promise* most plainly means to obtain the thing promised, as it does several times in the Epistle.

All the expressions thus far cited, and kindred ones scattered through the work, convey a clear and consistent meaning, with sharp outlines and coherent details, if we suppose their author entertained the following general theory; and otherwise, we hesitate not to say, they cannot be satisfactorily explained. A dreadful fear of death, introduced by sin, was tyrannizing over men. (ii. 14, 15.) In consequence of conscious alienation from God through transgressions, they shuddered at death. The writer does not say what there was in death that made it so feared; but we know that the prevailing Hebrew conception was, that death led the naked soul into the silent, dark, and dreary region of the under-world, — a doleful fate, from which they shrank with sadness at the best, guilt converting that natural melancholy into dread foreboding. In the absence of any evidence or presumption whatever to the contrary, we are authorized, nay, rather forced, to conclude that such a conception is implied in the passages we are considering. Now the mission of Jesus was to deliver men from that fear and bondage, by assuring them that God would forgive sin and annul its consequence. Instead of banishing their disembodied spirits into the sepulchral *Sheol*, he would take them to himself into the glory above the firmament. This aim Christ accomplished by literally exemplifying the truths it implies; that is, by personally assuming the lot of man, dying, rising from among the spirits of the dead, and ascending beyond the veil into heaven. By his death and victorious ascent "he purged our sins," "redeemed transgressions," "overthrew him that has the power of death," in the sense that he thereby, as the writer thought, swept away the supposed train of evils caused by sin, namely, all the concomitants of a banishment after death into the cheerless subterranean empire. If what has thus far been said seems doubtful, let the reader suspend judgment awhile; for strong, as we think irresistible, confirmations will be afforded.

It will be well now to notice more fully, in the author's scheme, the idea that Christ did locally ascend into the heavens, "into the presence of God," "where he ever liveth," and that by this ascent he for the first time opened the way for others to ascend to him where he is, avoiding the doom of *Hades*. "We have a great High-

priest, who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God." (iv. 14.) "Christ is not entered into the most holy place, made with hands, the figure of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." (ix. 24.) Indeed, that Jesus, in a material and local sense, rose to heaven, is a conception fundamental to the Epistle, and prominent on all its face. It is much more necessary for us to show that the author believed that the men who had previously died had *not* risen thither, but that it was the Saviour's mission to open the way for their ascension.

It is extremely significant, in the outset, that Jesus is called "the first leader and the bringer to the end of our faith" (xii. 2); for the words in this clause which the common version renders "author" and "finisher"* mean, from their literal force and the latent figure they contain, "a guide who runs through the course to the goal so as to win and receive the prize, bringing us after him to the same consummation." Still more striking is the passage we shall next adduce. Having enumerated a long list of the choicest worthies of the Old Testament, the writer adds, "These all, having obtained testimony through faith, did not realize the promise,† God having provided a better thing *for us*, that *they* without *us* should not be perfected" (xi. 39, 40), — should not be brought to the end, — the end of human destiny, that is, — exaltation to heaven. Undoubtedly the author here means to say, that the faithful servants of God under the Mosaic dispensation were reserved in the under-world until the ascension of the Messiah. Augustine so explains the text in hand, declaring that Christ was the first that ever rose from the under-world.‡ The same exposition is given by Origen,§ and indeed by nearly every one of the Fathers who has undertaken to give a critical interpretation of the passage. This doctrine itself was held by Catholic Christendom for a thousand years; is now held by the Roman, Greek, and English Churches; but is, for the most part, rejected, or forgotten, by the dissenting sects, from two causes.

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* *Vide* Robinson's Lexicon, first edition, under τελειόω and τελειωτής; also see Philo, cited there.

† *Vide* x. 36.

‡ Epist. CLXIV. sect. ix., ed. Benedictinæ.

§ De Principiis, Lib. II. cap. 11.

It has so generally sunk out of sight among us, first, from ignorance, — ignorance of the ancient learning and opinions on which it rested, and of which it was the *necessary* completion; secondly, from rationalistic speculations, which, leading men to discredit the truth of the doctrine, led them arbitrarily to deny its existence in the Scripture, making them perversely force the texts that state it, and wilfully blink the texts that hint it. Whether this be a proper and sound method of proceeding in critical investigations, any one may judge. To us it seems equally unmanly and immoral. We know of but one justifiable course; and that is, with patience and with earnestness, and with all possible aids, to labor to discern the real and full meaning of the words, according to the understanding and intention of the author. We do so elsewhere, regardless of consequences. No other method, in the case of the Scriptures, is exempt from guilt before God.

The meaning (namely, *to bring to the end*) which we have above attributed to the word τελειόω (translated in the common version *to make perfect*), is the first meaning and the etymological force of the word. That we do not refine upon it over-nicely in the present instance, the following examples from various parts of the Epistle unimpeachably witness. "For it was proper that God, in bringing many sons unto glory, should make him who was the first leader of their salvation perfect [reach the end] through sufferings" (ii. 10); that is, should raise him to heaven after he had passed through death, that he, having himself arrived at the glorious heavenly goal of human destiny, might bring others to it. "Christ, being made perfect" (brought through all the intermediate steps to the end), "became the cause of eternal salvation to all them that obey him; called of God an high-priest." (v. 9, 10.) The context, and the after assertion of the writer that the priesthood of Jesus is exercised in heaven, show that the word "perfected," as employed here, signifies exalted to the right hand of God. "Perfection" (bringing unto the end) "was not by the Levitical priesthood." (vii. 11) "The law perfected nothing, but it was the additional introduction of a better hope by which we draw near unto God." (vii. 19.) "The law maketh men high-priests which have infirmity, which are not suffered

to continue, by reason of death; but the word of the oath after the law maketh the Son perfect for evermore" (vii. 28, 23), — bringeth him to the end, namely, an everlasting priesthood in the heavens. That Christian believers are not under the first covenant, whereby, through sin, men, commencing with the blood of Abel, the first death, were doomed to the lower world, but are under the second covenant, whereby, through the gracious purpose of God, taking effect in the blood of Christ, the first resurrection, they are already by faith, in imagination, translated to heaven, — this is plainly what the author teaches in the following words: "Ye are not come to the palpable mount that burneth with fire, and to blackness and tempest, where so terrible was the sight that Moses exceedingly trembled, but ye are come to Mount Sion, to the *heavenly* Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of *angels*, and to *God*, and to the *spirits of the perfected just*, and to *Jesus*, the mediator of the new covenant, and to the lustral blood which speaks better things than that of Abel." (xii. 18–24.) The connection here demonstrates that the souls of the righteous are called "perfected," as having arrived at the goal of their destiny in heaven. Again, the author, when speaking of the sure and steadfast hope of eternal life, distinguishes Jesus as a πρόδρομος, one who runs before as a scout or leader, "the Forerunner, who for us has entered within the veil" (vi. 19, 20); that is, has passed beyond the firmament into the presence of God. The Jews called the outward or lowermost heaven the veil.* But the most conclusive consideration upon the opinion we are arguing for — and it must be entirely convincing — is to be drawn from the first half of the ninth chapter. To appreciate it, it is requisite to remember that the Rabbins, with whose notions our author was familiar, and some of which he adopts in his reasoning, were accustomed to compare the Jewish temple and city with the temple and city of Jehovah above the sky, considering the former as miniature types of the latter. This mode of thought was originally learned by philosophical Rabbins from the Platonic doctrine of ideas, without doubt, and was entertained figuratively, spiritually; but in the unreflecting,

* *Vide* Schoettgenii Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ on 2 Cor. xii. 2.

popular mind, the Hebraic views to which it gave rise were soon grossly materialized and located. They also derived the same conception from God's command to Moses when he was about to build the Tabernacle, "See thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount." (viii. 5.) They refined upon these words with many conceits. They compared the three divisions of the temple to the three heavens; the outer Court of the Gentiles corresponded with the first heaven, the Court of the Israelites with the second heaven, and the Holy of Holies represented the third heaven, or very abode of God. (ix. 2, 3.) Josephus writes, "The temple has three compartments; the first two for men, the third for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men."* Now our author says, referring to this triple symbolic arrangement of the temple, "The priests went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service, but into the second went the high-priest alone, once every year, not without blood; this, which was a figure for the time then present, signifying that the way into the holiest of all† was not yet laid open: but Christ being come, an high-priest of the future good things, by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal deliverance." (ix. 6–12.) The points of the comparison here instituted are these: On the great annual day of atonement, after the death of the victim, the Hebrew high-priest went into the adytum of the earthly temple, but none could follow; Jesus, after his own death, the Christian high-priest, went into the adytum of the heavenly temple, and enabled the faithful to enter there after him. Imagery like the foregoing, which implies a *Sanctum Sanctorum* above, the glorious prototype of that below, is frequent in the Talmud.‡ To remove all uncertainty from the exposition thus presented, if any doubt linger, it is only necessary to cite one more passage from the Epistle. "We have, therefore, brethren, by the blood of Jesus, leading into the holiest, a free road, a new and blessed road which he hath inaugurated

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* Antiq., Lib. 3, cap. 6, sect. 4; Ibid., cap. 7, sect. 7.

† Philo declares, "The whole universe is one temple of God, in which the holiest of all is heaven." — *De Monarchia*, p. 222, ed. Mangey.

‡ *Vide* Schoettgenii Dissertatio de Hierosolyma Cœlesti, Cap. 2, sect. 9.

for us through the veil, that is to say, through his flesh." (x. 19, 20.) As there was no entrance for the priest into the holiest of the temple save by the removal of the veil, so Christ could not enter heaven except by the removal of his body. The blood of Jesus here, as in most cases in the New Testament, means the death of Jesus, involving his ascension. Chrysostom, commenting on these verses, says, in explanation of the word ἐγκαινίζω, "Christ laid out the road and was the first to go over it. The first way was of death, leading (*ad inferos*) to the under-world; the other is of life," leading to heaven. The interpretation we have given of these passages reconciles and blends that part of the known contemporary opinions which applies to them, and explains and justifies the natural force of the imagery and words employed. Its accuracy seems to us unquestionable by any candid person who is competently acquainted with the subject. The substance of it is, that Jesus came from God to the earth as a man, laid down his life that he might rise from the dead into heaven again, into the real *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the universe, thereby proving that faithful believers also shall rise thither, being thus delivered, after the pattern of his evident deliverance, from the imprisonment of the realm of death below.

We now proceed to quote and unfold five distinct passages, not yet brought forward, from the Epistle, each of which separately proves that we are not mistaken in attributing to the writer of it the above-stated general theory. In the first verse which we shall adduce, it is perfectly certain that the word "death" *includes* the entrance of the soul into the subterranean kingdom of ghosts. It is written of Christ, that "in the days of his flesh, when he had earnestly prayed to Him that was able to do it, *to save him from death*, he was heard" (v. 7), and was advanced to be a high-priest in the heavens, — "was made higher than the heavens" (vii. 26). Now, obviously, God did not rescue Christ from dying, but he raised him, ἐκ νεκρῶν, from the world of the dead. So Chrysostom declares, referring to this very text: "Not to be retained in the region of the dead, but to be delivered from it, is virtually not to die." * Moreover, the

* Homil. Epist. ad Heb. in hoc loc.

phrase above translated "to save him from death" may be translated, with equal propriety, "to bring him back safe from death." The Greek verb σώζειν, *to save*, is often so used to denote the safe restoration of a warrior from an incursion into an enemy's domain. The same use made here by our author of the term "death" we have also found made by Philo Judæus. "The wise," Philo says, "inherit the Olympic and heavenly region to dwell in, always studying to go above; the bad inherit the innermost parts of the under-world, always laboring to die." * The antithesis between going above and dying, and the mention of the under-world in connection with the latter, prove that *to die* here means, or at least includes, going below after death.

The Septuagint version of the Old Testament twice translates Sheol by the word *death*.† The English version once — perhaps more than once — renders it in like manner.‡ And the nail of the interpretation we are urging is clenched fast by this sentence from Origen: "The under-world, in which souls are detained by death, is called death." §

Again, we read, that Christ took human nature upon him "in order that by means of [his own] death he might render him that has the power of death, that is, the Devil, idle; and deliver those who through fear of Death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." (ii. 14, 15.) It is apparent at once that the mere *death* of Christ, so far from ending the sway of Death, would be giving the grim monarch a new victory, incomparably the most important he had ever achieved. Therefore the only way to make adequate sense of the passage is to join with the Saviour's death what followed it, namely, his resurrection and ascension. It was the Hebrew belief that sin, introduced by the fraud of the Devil, was the cause of death, and the doomer of the disembodied spirits of men to the lower caverns of darkness and rest. They personified Death as a gloomy king, tyrannizing over mankind; and, unless in severe affliction, they dreaded the hour when

* Quod a Deo Mitt. Somn., p. 643, ed. Mangey.
† 2 Sam. xxii. 6; Prov. xxiii. 14.
‡ Ps. ix. 13.
§ Comm. in Epist. ad Rom., Lib. VI. cap. 6, sect. 6: "*Inferni locus in quo animæ detinebantur a morte mors appellatur.*"

they must lie down under his sceptre and sink into his voiceless kingdom of shadows. Christ broke the power of Satan, closed his busy reign, rescued the captive souls, and relieved the timorous hearts of the faithful by rising triumphantly from the long-bound dominion of the grave, and ascending in a new path of light, *pioneering* the saints to immortal glory.

In another part of the Epistle, the writer, having previously explained that, as the high-priest after the death of the expiatory goat entered the typical holy place in the temple, so Christ after his own death entered the true holy place in the heavens (ix. 7, 12, 24), goes on — to guard against the analogy being forced any further — to deny the necessity of Christ's service being repeated, as the priest's was annually repeated (ix. 25), saying, "For then he must have died many times since the foundation of the world; but on the contrary [it suffices that] once, at the close of the ages, through the sacrifice of himself he hath appeared [in heaven] for the abrogation of sin."* (ix. 26.) The rendering and explanation we give of this language are those adopted by the most distinguished commentators, and must be justified by any one who examines the proper punctuation of the clauses, and studies the context. The simple idea is, that, by the sacrifice of his body through death, Christ rose and showed himself in the presence of God. The author adds, that this was done "unto the annulling of sin." It is with reference to these last words principally that we have cited the passage. What do they mean? In what sense can the passing of Christ's soul into heaven after death be said to have done away with sin? In the first place, the open manifestation of Christ's disenthralled and risen soul in the supernal presence of God did not in any sense abrogate sin itself, literally considered, because all kinds of sin that ever were upon the earth among men before, have been ever since, and are now. In the second place, that miraculous event did not annul and remove human guilt, the consciousness of sin and responsibility for it, because in fact men feel the sting and load of guilt now as badly as ever; and the very Epistle before us, as well as the whole New Testament,

* *Vide* Griesbach *in loc.*, and Rosenmüller.

addresses Christians as being exposed to constant and varied danger of incurring guilt and woe. But in the third place, the ascension of Jesus did show very plainly to the Apostles and first Christians, that what they supposed to be the great outward penalty of sin was annulled; that it was no longer a necessity for the spirit to descend to the lower world after death; that that fatal doom, entailed on the generations of humanity by sin, was now abrogated for all who were worthy. Such, we have not the shadow of a doubt, is the true meaning of the declaration under review.

This exposition is powerfully confirmed by the two succeeding verses, which we will next pass to examine. "As it is appointed for men to die once, but after this the judgment; so Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, without sin, for salvation unto those expecting him." (ix. 27, 28.) Man dies once, and then passes into that state of separate existence in the under-world which is the legal judgment for sin. Christ, taking upon himself, with the nature of man, the burden of man's lot and doom, died once, and then rose from the dead by the gracious power of the Father, bearing away the outward penalty of sin. He will come again into the world, uninvolved, the next time, with any of the accompaniments or consequences of sin, to save them that look for him, and victoriously lead them into heaven with him. In this instance, as all through the writings of the Apostles, sin, death, and the under-world are three segments of a circle, each necessarily implying the others: the same remark is to be made of the contrasted terms, righteousness, grace, immortal life above the sky;* the former being traced from the sinful and fallen Adam, the latter from the righteous and risen Christ.

The author says, "If the blood of bulls and goats sanctifies unto the purification of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who having † an eternal spirit offered himself faultless to God, cleanse your con-

* See Neander's Planting and Training of the Church, Ryland's translation, p 298.

† Διά is often used in the sense of *with*, or possessing. See Wahl's New Testament Lexicon.

sciousness!" (ix. 13, 14.) The argument fully expressed is, if the blood of perishable brutes cleanses the body, the blood of the immortal Christ cleanses the soul. The implied inference is, that, as the former fitted the outward man for the ritual privileges of the temple, so the latter fitted the inward man for the spiritual privileges of heaven. This appears clearly from what follows in the next chapter, where the writer says, in effect, that "it is not possible for the blood of bulls and of goats to take away sins, however often it is offered, but that Christ, when he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down at the right hand of God." (x. 4, 11, 12.) The reason given for the efficacy of Christ's offering is that he sat down at the right hand of God. When the chosen animals were sacrificed for sins, they utterly perished, and there was an end. But when Christ was offered, his soul survived and rose into heaven, an evident sign that the penalty of sin, whereby men were doomed to the underworld after death, was abolished. This perfectly explains the language, and nothing else can perfectly explain it.

That Christ would speedily reappear from heaven in triumph, to judge his foes and save his disciples, was a fundamental article in the primitive Church scheme of the last things. There are unmistakable evidences of such a belief in our author. "For yet a little while and the coming one will come, and will not delay." (x. 37.) "Provoke one another unto love and good works,..... so much the more as ye see the day drawing near." (x. 24, 25.) There is another reference to this approaching advent, which, though obscure, affords important testimony. Jesus, when he had ascended, "sat down at the right hand of God, henceforward waiting till his enemies be made his footstool." (x. 12, 13.) That is to say, he is tarrying in heaven for the appointed time to arrive when he shall come into the world again, to consummate the full and final purposes of his mission. We may leave this division of the subject established beyond all question, by citing a text which explicitly states the idea in so many words. "Unto them that look for him he shall appear the second time." (ix. 28.) That expectation of the speedy second coming of the Messiah which haunted the early Christians, therefore, unquestionably occupied the mind of the composer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

If the writer of this epistolary essay had a firm and detailed opinion as to the exact fate to be allotted to wicked and persistent unbelievers, his allusions to that opinion are too few and vague for us to determine precisely what it was. We will briefly quote the substance of what he says upon the subject, and add a word in regard to the inferences it does, or does not, warrant. "If under the Mosaic dispensation every transgression received a just recompense, how shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation, first proclaimed by the Lord?" (ii. 2, 3; x. 28, 29.) "As the Israelites that were led out of Egypt by Moses, on account of their unbelief and provocations, were not permitted to enter the promised land, but perished in the wilderness (iii. 8–19); so let us fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it." (iv. 1, 7, 11.) Christ "became the cause of eternal salvation to all them that obey him." (v. 9.) "He hath brought unto the end for ever them that are sanctified." (x. 14.) It will be observed that these last specifications are partial, and that nothing is said of the fate of those not included under them. "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened,..... if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance..... But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, even things that accompany salvation." (vi. 4–9.) "We are not of them who draw back unto the destruction, but of them who believe unto the preservation, of the soul." (x. 39.) "If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there is no longer left a sacrifice for sins; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and of fiery indignation to devour the adversaries." (x. 26, 27.) "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." (x. 31.) "If they escaped not who refused him that spoke on earth [Moses], much more we shall not escape, if we turn away from him that speaks from heaven [Christ]." (xii. 25.) In view of the foregoing passages, which represent the entire teaching of the Epistle in relation to the ultimate destination of sinners, we must assert as follows. First, the author gives no hint of the doctrine of literal *torments* in a local hell. Secondly, he is still further from favoring, nay, he unequivocally denies, the doctrine of unconditional, universal salvation.

Thirdly, he either expected that the reprobate would be absolutely destroyed at the second coming of Christ, — which does not seem to be declared; or that they would be exiled for ever from the kingdom of glory into the sad and slumberous under-world, — which is not clearly implied; or that they would be punished according to their evil, and then, restored to Divine favor, be exalted into heaven with the original elect, — which is not written in the record; or, lastly, that they would be disposed of in some way unknown to him, — which he does not avow. He makes no allusion to such a terrific conception as is expressed by the Calvinistic use of the word *hell*; he emphatically predicates conditionality of salvation, he threatens sinners in general terms with severe judgment. Further than this he has neglected to state his faith. If it reached any further, he has preferred to leave the statement of it in vague and impressive gloom.

Let us stop a moment and epitomize the steps we have taken. Jesus, the Son of God, was a spirit in heaven. He came upon the earth in the guise of humanity to undergo its whole experience, and to be its redeemer. He died, passed through the vanquished kingdom of the grave, and rose into heaven again, to exemplify to men that through the grace of God a way was opened to escape the under-world, the great external penalty of sin, and reach a better country, even a heavenly. From his seat at God's right hand, he should ere long descend to complete God's designs in his mission, — judge his enemies and lead his accepted followers to heaven. The all-important thought running through the length and breadth of the treatise is the ascension of Christ from the midst of the dead (ἐκ νεκρῶν) into the celestial presence, as the pledge of our ascent. "Among the things of which we are speaking, this is the capital consideration (κεφάλαιον)," — the most essential point, — "that we have such a high-priest, who hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens." (viii. 1.) Neander says, though apparently without perceiving the extent of its ulterior significance: "The conception of the resurrection in relation to the whole Christian system lies at the basis of this Epistle."

A brief sketch and exposition of the doctrine and scope of the Epistle in general will cast light and confirmation

upon the interpretation we have given of its eschatology in particular. The one comprehensive design of the writer, it is perfectly clear, is to prove to the Christian converts from the Hebrews the superiority of Christianity to Judaism; and so to arm them against apostasy from the new covenant to the ancient one. He begins by showing that Christ, the bringer of the Gospel, is greater than the angels, by whom the Law was given (i. 4–14; ii. 2; Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 20); and consequently that his word is to be reverenced still more than theirs (ii. 1–3). Next he argues that Jesus, the Christian Mediator, as the *Son* of God, is crowned with more authority and worthy of more glory than Moses, the Jewish mediator, as the *servant* of God (iii. 3, 6); and that, as Moses led his people towards the rest of Canaan (iv. 8, 9), so Christ leads his people towards the far better rest of heaven (xi. 16). And then he advances to demonstrate the superiority of Christ to the Levitical priesthood. This he establishes by pointing out the facts, that the Levitical priest had a transient honor (vii. 23), being after the law of a carnal commandment (vii. 16), his offerings referring to the flesh (ix. 13), while Christ has an unchangeable priesthood (vii. 24), being after the power of an endless life (vii. 16), his offering referring to the soul (ix. 14); that the Levitical priest once a year went into the symbolic holy place in the temple, unable to admit others (ix. 7, 9), but Jesus rose into the real holy place itself above (ix. 12), opening a way for all faithful disciples to follow (x. 19, 20); and that the Hebrew temple and ceremonies were but the small type and shadow of the grand archetypal temple in heaven, where Christ is the immortal High-priest (viii. 2, 5, 6), fulfilling (viii. 3) in the presence of God the completed (x. 14) reality of what Judaism merely *miniatured*, an emblematic pattern that could make nothing perfect (x. 1). "By him therefore let us continually offer to God the sacrifice of praise." The author intersperses, and closes with, exhortations to steadfast faith, pure morals, and fervent piety.

There is one point in this Epistle which deserves, and to which we now propose in conclusion to give, a separate treatment. It is the subject of the Atonement. The correspondence between the sacrifices in the Hebrew

ritual and the sufferings and death of Christ would, from the nature of the case, irresistibly suggest the sacrificial terms and metaphors which our author uses in a large part of his argument. Moreover, his precise aim in writing compelled him to make these resemblances as prominent, as significant, and as effective as possible. Griesbach says well, in his learned and able essay: "When it was impossible for the Jews, lately brought to the Christian faith, to tear away the attractive associations of their ancestral religion, which were twined among the very roots of their minds, and they were consequently in danger of falling away from Christ, the most ingenious author of this Epistle met the case by a masterly expedient. He instituted a careful comparison, showing the superiority of Christianity to Judaism even in regard to the very point where the latter seemed so much more glorious, namely, in priesthoods, temples, altars, victims, lustrations, and kindred things."* That these comparisons are sometimes used by the writer analogically, figuratively, imaginatively, for the sake of practical illustration and impression, not literally as logical expressions and proofs of a dogmatic theory of atonement, is made sufficiently plain by the following quotations. "The bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the holy place by the high-priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people through his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him, without the camp, bearing his reproach." (xiii. 11–13.) Every one will at once perceive that these sentences are not critically exact statements of theological truths, but are imaginative expressions of practical lessons, spiritual exhortations. Again, we read, "It was necessary that the *patterns* of the heavenly things should be purified with sacrificed animals, but the heavenly things *themselves* with better sacrifices than these." (ix. 23.) Certainly it is only by an exercise of the imagination, for spiritual impression, not for philosophical argument, that heaven can be said to be defiled by the sins of men on earth, so as to need cleansing by the lustral blood of Christ. The writer also appeals to his readers in these terms: "To do

* Griesbachii Opuscula. De Imaginibus Judaicis in Epist. ad Hebræos.

good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." (xiii. 16.) The purely practical aim and rhetorical method with which the sacrificial language is employed here are evident enough. We believe it is used in the same way wherever it occurs in the Epistle.

The considerations which have convinced us, and which we think ought to convince every unprejudiced mind, that the Calvinistic scheme of a substitutional expiation for sin, a placation of Divine wrath by the offering of Divine blood, was not in the mind of the author, and does not inform his expressions when they are rightly understood, may be briefly presented. First, the notion that the suffering of Christ in itself ransomed lost souls, bought the withheld grace and pardon of God for us, is admittedly foreign and repulsive to the instinctive moral sense and to natural reason, but is supposed to rest on the authority of revelation. Secondly, that doctrine is nowhere specifically stated in the Epistle, but is assumed, or inferred, to explain language which to a superficial look seems to imply it, perhaps even seems to be inexplicable without it;* but in reality such a view is inconsistent with that language when it is accurately studied. For example, notice the following passage: "When Christ cometh into the world" (x. 5), he is represented as saying, "I come to do thy will, O God." (x. 9.) "By the which will," the writer continues, "we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus." (x. 10.) That is, the death of Christ, involving his resurrection and ascension into heaven, fulfils and exemplifies the gracious purpose of God, not purchases for us an otherwise impossible benignity. The above-cited explicit declaration is irreconcilable with the thought that Christ came into the world to die that he might appease the flaming justice and anger of God, and by vicarious agony buy the remission of human sins; it conveys the idea,

* That these texts were not originally understood as implying any vicarious efficacy in Christ's painful death, but as attributing a typical power to his triumphant resurrection, his glorious return from the world of the dead into heaven, appears very plainly in the following instance. Theodoret, one of the earliest explanatory writers on the New Testament, says, while expressly speaking of Christ's *death*, the sufferings through which he was perfected, "His resurrection certified a resurrection for us all." — *Vid ejus Comm. in Epist. ad Heb.*, cap. 2, v. 10.

on the contrary, that God sent Christ to prove and illustrate to men the free fulness of his forgiving love. Thirdly, the idea, which we think was the idea of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that Christ, by his death, resurrection, and ascent, demonstrated to the faith of men God's merciful removal of the supposed outward penalty of sin, namely, the banishment of souls after death to the under-world, and led the way, as their forerunner, into heaven, — this idea, which is not shocking to the moral sense, nor plainly absurd to the moral reason, as the Augustinian dogma is, not only yields a more sharply defined, consistent, and satisfactory explanation of all the related language of the Epistle, but is also — which cannot be said of the other doctrine — in harmony with the contemporary opinions of the Hebrews, and would be the natural and almost inevitable development from them and complement of them in the mind of a Pharisee, who, convinced of the death and ascension of the sinless Jesus, the appointed Messiah, had become a Christian.

The last assertion, which is the only one that needs further proof, we shall now sustain by a few words. In the first place, every one familiar with the eschatology of the Hebrews knows that at the time of Christ the belief prevailed that the sin of Adam was the cause of death among men. In the second place, it is equally well known that they believed the destination of souls upon leaving the body to be the under-world. Therefore — it undeniably follows by all the necessities of logic — they believed that sin was the cause of the descent of disembodied spirits to the dreary lower realm. In the third place, it is notorious and undoubted that the Jews of that age expected that, when the Messiah should appear, the dead of their nation, or at least a portion of them, would be raised from the under-world, be reclothed with bodies, and reign with him for a period on earth, and then ascend to heaven. Now what could be more natural than that a person holding this creed who should be brought to believe that Jesus was the true Messiah, and after his death had risen from among the dead into heaven, should immediately conclude that this was a pledge or illustration of the abrogation of the gloomy penalty of sin, the deliverance of souls from the subter-

ranean prison, and their admission to the presence of God beyond the sky? We deem this an impregnable position. Every relevant text that we consider in its light additionally fortifies it by the striking manner in which such a conception fits, fills, and explains the words. To illustrate the various points, and to prove the correctness of the foregoing exposition of the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we might have cited a multitude of texts from other portions of the New Testament; but at present, for several reasons, we have preferred to confine ourselves to matter strictly connected with this single document. To justify our interpretations, and to sustain particular features of the doctrine which they express, almost any amount of evidence may be summoned from the writings both of the most authoritative and of the simplest Fathers of the Church, beginning with Justin Martyr,* philosopher of Neapolis, at the close of the Apostolic age, and ending with John Hobart,† Bishop of New York, in the early part of the nineteenth century. We have refrained from adducing the throng of such authorities here, because they would be more appropriately brought forward when tracing the progress and perversions of the Apostolic doctrine of the last things, in the succeeding ages of the Church.

The intelligent reader will observe that the essential point of difference distinguishing our exposition of the fundamental doctrine of the composition in review, on the one hand, from the consistent Calvinistic interpretation of it, and, on the other hand, from the common Unitarian explanation of it, is this. Calvinism says that Christ, by his death, his vicarious pains, appeased the wrath of God, satisfied the claims of justice, and purchased the salvation of souls from an agonizing and endless hell. Unitarianism says that Christ, by his teachings, spirit, life, and miracles, revealed the character of the Father, set an example for man, gave certainty to great truths, and exerted moral influences to regenerate men, redeem them from sin, and fit them for the blessed kingdom of immortality. We understand the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews really to say, — in subtraction

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* Dial. cum Tryph., Cap. V. et Cap. LXXX.
† State of the Departed.

from what the Calvinist, in addition to what the Unitarian, says, — that Christ, by his resurrection from the tyrannous realm of death, and ascent into the unbarred heaven, demonstrated the fact that God, in his sovereign grace, in his free and wondrous love, would forgive mankind their sins, remove the ancient penalty of transgression, no more dooming their disembodied spirits to the noiseless and everlasting gloom of the under-world, but admitting them to his own presence, above the firmamental floor, where the beams of his chambers are laid, and he reigneth for ever, covered with light as with a garment. W. R. A.

Art. II. — PRESENT CONDITION OF PALESTINE.*

Dr. Robinson's great work is too well established in the respect and confidence of the Christian public, on both sides of the water, to need any commendation at this late day. Although its learned author passed over but a limited part of the Land of Promise, and was deterred by prejudice from receiving any help from the resident Friars, although he started with indefensible principles regarding the determinations of the legendary localities, and embarrassed his work with a tedious, inelegant, and infelicitous narrative, his Researches stand confessedly at the head of this class of writings. While his mistakes are so slight as hardly to merit notice, his thoroughness, originality, unequalled erudition, and ex-

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* 1. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a Journal of Travels in the Year* 1838, *by* E. Robinson *and* E. Smith. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1841. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 571, 679, 475 and 246.

2. *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, by* W. F. Lynch, U. S. N. Philadelphia. 1849. 8vo. pp. 508.

3. *A Descriptive Geography and Brief Historical Sketch of Palestine, by* Rabbi Joseph Schwartz; *for Sixteen Years a Resident in the Holy Land.* Translated by Isaac Leeser. Philadelphia: A. Hart. 5610 — 1850. 8vo. pp. 518.

4. *Scripture Lands, by* John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. *Illustrated by a Complete Biblical Atlas, comprising 24 Maps.* (Bohn's Illustrated Library.) London. 1850.

5. *The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* Edited by John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Tenth Edition. New York: Mark H. Newman & Co. 1851. 2 vols. pp. 884, 994.

treme painstaking, deserve all praise. Visiting the same spots with his volumes in hand, we were really surprised to find so general and minute a correspondence of the description with the existing reality. Some discoveries were made in the course of his journey, some disputes settled for ever, and little was left for future gleaners in the field, except through the region investigated by the American expedition.

Lieutenant Lynch's work is equally creditable to the country and himself. Nothing but a national expedition, no individual enterprise we mean, was likely to accomplish any thing further than the sacrifice of other valuable lives. His excellent appointments, his intrepidity, perseverance, skill, and energy, with such superior assistants as he possessed, have cleared away an impenetrable mist from the most interesting, but least known, waters in the world. All that we care to hear of the Galilee Lake, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea is set before us in his accurate yet agreeable narrative, with such fulness and science, that the intelligence he communicated is already flowing amidst the Christian public in various popular publications, and is mentioned everywhere with gratitude, as an unfading wreath of fame for the Republic of the West.

Rabbi Schwartz's book betrays an unaccountable ignorance of all recent explorations in Palestine, and of some most notorious features of the country itself. The Galilee waters are still covered with vessels, according to his account, the Jordan is bordered with Paradise groves, instead of an impenetrable jungle, and the land is still crowned with not a little of its glory under Solomon. Probably his inquiries had been limited to Jerusalem, and the nearest seaport on the Mediterranean, and there discolored by Jewish partiality, and rendered nearly worthless by ignorance of the rest of the world; though he cannot be blamed for not giving heed to any Christian traditions, nor alluding at all to the points of interest to any other faith than his own.

The works of Kitto deserve the popularity they enjoy. With a few such errors as that of stating, in his "Scripture Lands," that the Sea of Galilee is nearly thirty-three thousand feet below the Mediterranean,* they are

* Page 113, Bohn's Library Edition.

the most readable, instructive, and profitable books of their class; more true, as a general thing, are they to the impressions which the country makes upon a visitor now than any other narratives, more condensed certainly in statement, and more comprehensive in detail. It is evident that American travellers have furnished the richest dishes of the table which he spreads before all that speak the English tongue. And our zealous missionaries in Syria, the welcome given by our reading public to every word on an apparently inexhaustible theme, besides the new investigations expected from Dr. Robinson's present journey, promise us additional satisfaction in the future.

And yet Palestine is not likely to be included in the usual route of foreign travel. The birthplace of our faith, its shore the infant-school of the race, its interior moistened with some of the best blood of England, the theatre of romantic exploit of Jew, Roman, Saracen, and Crusader, the hallowed ground to two powerful religions and hardly less revered by a third, it will not be visited by the crowds that hasten over Switzerland, or the frequent companies that sail so deliciously through the heart of Egypt.

It is not the danger: danger of life there is none now, from Dan to Beersheba; and, except in a winter visit to Palmyra or Petra, where the Bedouins gather along the track and levy "black mail," sometimes by stipulation, sometimes to the last shred of clothing and the last copper of money, the European dress is protection from robbery. For five dollars each, a little more than twice the sum exacted of every traveller by our European consuls, the Sheik of Jericho contracts to see you safe back from a visit to the Dead Sea and the Jordan, and attends you in person nearly all the way. For ten times that amount, even in the worst season, you are perfectly secure in visiting Petra, and this sum would probably include some service through guides and some hospitality in the different encampments. Thank Heaven, the old law still holds good, — once welcomed with even a cup of their delicious Mocha, you are henceforth a friend and a brother; the whole tribe is your protector; its almost invisible providence spreads around your path; wherever its goats graze or its horsemen race, you are at home; and whoever touches a hair of your head does it at his

peril. Theirs is really almost the only foreign hospitality for which no compensation is expected or permitted. The stranger who claims a night's shelter is furnished with the chief's tent, his cattle as well as himself and servants are fed, all the wood which the tribe have will be consumed for his comfort; he is not only wished a pleasant journey, but real regret is shown at his departure. If this hospitality is not enough to detain the traveller an hour after he can leave, it is all they can do, with the safeguard which it pledges; it is all they themselves prize, for the American Indian does not suffer more in the confinement of our cities than these ancient wanderers* of the desert in the lap of our modern luxury.

The real impediment is the miserable uncomfortableness of the journey, set off by its exceedingly meagre results. The entire trip must be made on horseback; there is no wheel-vehicle even in Damascus, and no carriage-road even through Jerusalem. For weeks you must be exposed in the saddle to the sultry Syrian sun upon the plains, and the sweeping storm of rain and hail upon the mountains. It is not possible to halt; the ordinary Turkish khan is a mere shed of stone, through whose mud roof the rain often beats, whose floor is commonly clay, and seldom very clean, whose chief light is from the open door, whose fireside comfort is a little furze smoking in one corner, with just heat enough to warm the vermin into activity. And, for the first time in your life, probably, you are where no money can procure satisfying food; the cheap abundance of Egypt, the ever-varied table of Italy, is succeeded by a bread dry as paper, olive-oil, and some wild honey.

Such is not the convent fare. There, besides a hearty welcome, a good bed and nourishing, though simple, food are provided, for which every pilgrim is expected to make a parting present; which we have never known to be asked, however, except at the almost uninhabitable Greek convent of Baalbec. As the friars have sometimes to be your cooks, as well as waiters and physicians, as your wants must take them away from the service of the Church to "serve tables," as they are even more

* *Bedouin*, or properly *Bedawee*, means *wanderer*.

kind at the second visit than at the first, and have been the means of preserving many exposed lives, it seems ungrateful to censure them for not being a higher order of men, or to ridicule their childlike credulity. Remembering how their substantial building always loomed up as a rainbow after the darkened heavens, how for one evening fatigue was forgotten and pain was soothed, unfounded reports of their self-indulgence shall not deter us from telling what we know to their credit. Being in company with Catholics, all parts of the Syrian convents were thrown open; a free intercourse was maintained with the brethren, their cells were lounged in, their larders inspected, their libraries examined, their more private altars visited, and, without having a prejudice either way beforehand, their evident self-denial, occasional suffering, actual poverty, and apparent cheerfulness made a lasting impression. There are twenty Latin convents at present in Syria, under the government of the "Terra Santa" corporation; whose head, stationed at Jerusalem, and always a Spaniard, bears the title of Guardian of Mount Zion and Custos of the Holy Sepulchre. Their occupants, Franciscan "Minorites," — not monks, as Professor Robinson terms them, but friars, — are stationed where their Superior pleases, without regard to their wishes or health; as many at Jerusalem as at any point, while Tiberias, Baalbec, &c. are kept by a single brother, and he sometimes of the Greek Church. All are fed alike, abundantly, though plainly. Clothing is provided once in two years, — a single woollen under-garment and a hooded cloak of dull brown, with the knotted cord of St. Francis for discipline. All their apartments are stone, and generally unwarmed, even by charcoal, through the chilly dampness of the rainy season. They fare worse than our penitentiary people, yet seem always cheerful; are cheered by no promise of proselytes, yet never appear discouraged; are really poverty-stricken, yet keep the same open door as when Europe poured in its superfluous gold; suffer frequently by debility and get worn out by disease, yet do not desert their post in the season of sweeping pestilence, but drop down in the midst of their duties, courageous as any heroes, rejoicing sometimes like the old martyrs. In the last visit of the plague at Damascus, these brethren shut themselves up

in their convent, so that their whole body should not perish at once, and sent forth one of their number each morning to soothe the sick and bless the dying. During the twenty-one days in which this pestilence was at its height, it is said that twenty-one of these devoted men went forth one by one, voluntary victims, never beholding the faces of their brothers again; until the destruction was arrested at last and the public health restored.

But one thing is peculiar to the Holy Land. Travellers see neither more nor less than what they are prepared to see, the reflection indeed of their own hearts and thoughts. Nine out of ten of our countrymen would pronounce "all barren from Dan to Beersheba," would hurry through the journey as speedily as possible, would rejoice most heartily when the French steamer was bearing them back from the fading Syrian shore. Not so the Latin or Greek Catholic; he roams over the land with a full and flowing heart, bearing with him that ready faith which stumbles at no difficulty, criticizes no legend, suspects no imposture, discovers no incredibility in any assigned locality. In itself this condition is rather enviable; in places where there is nothing to interest the Protestant, where he yawns heavily in the friar's face, his Catholic servant feasts to his full: he throws himself at once upon his knees, kisses the earthquake fissure in St. Sepulchre or the star in the Chapel of the Nativity, is humbled in awe, or rapt in adoration, or melted in love. Such child-like believers are the mass of pilgrims to-day. This list is headed by the Empress Helena, who erected the principal churches now covering various holy places,* whose sepulchre Professor Robinson thinks he has discovered in what is commonly shown as the "Tombs of the Kings," and down the same lengthening line are recent names of such celebrities as Chateaubriand and Lamartine. And for them the holy brethren have admirably arranged the spots where this fervor is to be manifested, so as to keep the soul in a constant glow, and make the body insensible to much hardship, and victorious over its own infirmity.

Neither the Jew who looks scowlingly over the land which belongs to himself alone, and by a Divine gift, nor

* A. D. 326.

the Mussulman who despises Catholic Christianity as an inferior faith, has at all such means of enjoyment; and the Protestant Christian is seemingly the least favored of all. In proportion as his mind is alive with the stirring associations of sacred history, his heart beats quick as he wanders over the Galilee hills, crosses the memorable mule-path to Bethany, catches at eventide the saddened murmur of the Lake of Tiberias, or watches the morning sun striving in vain to gild the leaden dulness of the Dead Sea. The momemt, however, that he leaves these spots, marked out by unchanging characters of nature, and asks aid of local tradition, his ear is stunned and his heart perplexed. The incredible, not to say impossible, mingles so plentifully with the convent story and the Arab legend, that he cannot believe all, and he dreads to reject all. On the way from Beyroot, the great seaport of Syria, to Jerusalem, he is first confronted with a crowd of monkish inventions at Nazareth. The beetling crag overhanging the village strikes every eye as the spot where the Saviour was hurried up by the synagogue mob to be cast down headlong; but the friars will not have it so, and they insist upon it that you must believe that the frenzied rabble on their day of rest dragged their intended victim quite a distance into the country, while the same object could be accomplished right at hand and in a moment of time. This is not human nature; and material nature seems to utter her audible protest from the precipitous background of the village. So the Ascension cannot have been where the present chapel stands, because the sacred narrative implies that it was after they had crossed this hill-top on their way to Bethany that "he was carried up into heaven."

Another drawback, and a very serious one, is, that you cannot always ascertain where you are in Palestine. When the modern names, as those of Acre and Jaffa, bear a resemblance to the Scripture ones, this is an acceptable guide, and of great weight, especially with Professor Robinson, in determining a locality. But of most places this is not the case. It is hard to recognize Bethany under the Arabic word Erozereer, or Sychar in Nâbloos, and yet the natives know no other name; though there can be no question about either of these towns. The first

guide in any investigation of the sacred places is the face of nature. This has changed no more than was to be expected from the marauding habits of the Arab and the oppressive despotism of the Turk. Barrenness has succeeded to fertility wherever it was possible, and silence to the happy hum of prosperity. The nightmare of despair presses down the heart of the land. The vine, so long nourished by its own blood, could not but perish. No country ever was more dreary. For hours upon hours you will hear not a sound, see not even the waving of a wing. Not merely is this true where you expect it, at the Dead Sea, and where you do not expect it, at the Lake of Galilee, but Jerusalem herself sits as the throned queen of desolation. Much of the time not a person or thing is to be observed in motion outside of the walls, not a cry of pleasure or a wail of sadness is to be heard. It is as if the dead, who skirt its hill-sides, sat there alone awaiting in the awe of expectation that judgment-trump which is to sound first in the valley of Jehoshaphat. All Ottoman cities are distinguished from the Christian by their grave-like quiet, because the Turk never moves when he can keep still, never talks when he can be silent, never permits the ringing of a bell, never encourages the interruption of his dream of life by stirring sounds. The Jew, who makes half the population of his Holy City, moves with the stealthy tread of a cat, as if the permission to visit Jerusalem had just been conceded, after years of refusal, and might speedily be withdrawn. And though the bazaars of the city are much better furnished than of old, though population is increasing and new buildings are erecting, yet we are rather glad that Jerusalem is not and cannot be a manufacturing or commercial city.

There are many other saddening features of the scene besides the general stillness. There is a monotonous succession of ruins, as the prophets predicted. The most numerous settlements are wholly or in part fallen buildings, of no grandeur of design or grace of detail. The Jews were not distinguished in architecture. Celebrated as are the tombs of "the prophets" and "the kings," of Absalom and Jehoshaphat, they are nothing to the tombs at Thebes, either in size, beauty, or solemnity. The poorest grotto in Egypt is, we had almost said,

better than the best in Palestine. But those temples of Karnak and Philœ, which man and nature seem to have struggled in vain to overthrow, those monster statues and sphinxes, the palace of Abydos and the pyramid of Cheops, find not the faintest reflection in Syria. Whatever the temple of Solomon might have been, it was, as the Saviour foretold, utterly swept away; and, except at the almost unknown Gerasa, the Roman remains are confined to a few ruined aqueducts, not in their best style, and a small bridge here and there. So that, through a land generally a desert, whose roads are a mere bridle-path from one village on some hill-side to another on the next summit, you have neither the relief of groves of trees nor that of gardens of flowers, neither the monuments of man's piety nor the expressions of his taste, neither the company of the industrious cultivator nor that of his humble and patient friends in the brute creation. Instead of it you hear the cry of the partridge or catch sight of the startled jackal. You see the low, dark tents of the Bedouin, or pass the tedious caravan of wry-necked, vermin-covered camels, at intervals of days. There are occasional olive-orchards; and this saddest of trees might be taken to be in mourning for the fallen daughter of Zion, so decrepit, neglected, gnarled, and perishing does it commonly appear. Damascus, indeed, with its walnut-groves, its fruit-trees so fragrant, and its gardens so rich in Oriental beauty, is an exception. But the palm and the cypress, which so grace an Eastern landscape, have mostly disappeared; and though in the valley of Samaria orange-trees abound and almond-trees almost surround Bethlehem, the dismal olive constitutes the common orchard, and its oil is the chief product of the country, — its light, its food, its culinary convenience, its prime necessity.

Palestine surprises one unfamiliar with its features by its hilliness. Two ranges of mountains run through it from north to south, some of them exceedingly difficult of ascent, and frightful from their frequent precipices, but passed by the strangely-shod Syrian horse in perfect safety. These lofty and bold heights leave a grand impression. Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon tower sometimes eleven thousand feet above the sea, and wear their snow-caps in spots nearly all the year. Hermon is now termed

the Sheik's Mountain, and rises above the rest of the Lebanon range, reminding some travellers of Mont Blanc, but not seen so advantageously upon its own elevated plain. Tabor is a model of beauty; a truncated cone, with some ruins of Crusaders' fortifications and shrines of various ages, well wooded and seemingly fertile, dividing the waters of the East from those that empty into the Mediterranean, it never fails to fill the traveller's eye. It is a thousand feet above the level of the country,* of limestone, the prevailing formation, and a mile in circuit upon its basin-shaped summit.

The water-courses of the country, the wells and lakes, have never materially changed, and never will. A little distance from the ancient Sychar, now a most flourishing city for Syria, the traveller rests himself at "Jacob's well," looks through a fertile valley where Joseph's tomb is shown, sounds this most ancient spring, and finds it "very deep," and is satisfied to know that, time out of mind, no other name but Jacob's well has ever been given to it by Moslem, Christian, or Jew.† Again, as you enter Nazareth from the east, a fountain is shown, bearing the name of Mary; and as those gentle and devout-looking village women draw their water at the spot, you are reminded of her whose spirit seems to have lingered among her sex around her own home, who no doubt exchanged many a friendly salutation as she obtained her supply of the beverage, — perhaps wondered over the singular character of her child, and repeated his mysterious sayings. The "Pools of Solomon" are still visited, near Bethlehem; and the excellent water furnished by them travels through fifteen miles of aqueduct to Mount Moriah, supplying the fountain of Siloam, as it is believed, by some irregular, fitful, secret flow, reminding one by its sudden bubbling up of the "troubling of the water" not far distant in the now deserted Pool of Bethesda. In a country where so much suffering is experienced from want of water, where even the winter traveller is tormented by thirst, it is easy to understand the glowing eulogy of the

* The Mount of Olives and Jerusalem are seven hundred feet higher than this.

† Kitto's Cyclopædia, under the article "Water," states that fifteen feet of water are found here, and the "Scripture Lands" makes a similar error; but it is now quite dry. Robinson, Vol. III. pp. 108, 109.

Hebrew upon his inexhaustible fountains. It seems a very short-sighted prejudice to speak scornfully of Siloam because it is not always clear and deep. So near to the city and so free to all, so cool and so inexhaustible, it deserved to be visited annually with chant and psalm, as "a well of salvation."

Notwithstanding the hymn, —

"Thou sweet-gliding Kedron, by thy silver stream," —

the Kedron has ceased to flow, even in the rainy season; the resident missionaries in Jerusalem have not seen any brook there; the common descriptions take for granted what has not been true for centuries. Following down its horrid ravine by the wild gorge of Mar Saba, we found the precipitous channel to be dry the whole way. The Kishon, however, and most of the other streams, make amends for this solitary failure by crossing the traveller's path with a deep flood, which in the rainy season has drowned many a muleteer, though in the fiery drought of summer it shrinks into a shallow bed. Rising near Mount Tabor, it empties into "the great sea" at the foot of Mount Carmel.*

The main water-beds of Palestine — the lakes Merom and Tiberias, the river Jordan, and the Dead Sea — have been so recently and thoroughly explored by enterprising Americans, the results of the United States expedition especially are so satisfactory and so honorable, that the established facts ought to supplant the pious fictions so long shrouding the scene.

The Jordan takes its rise nearly twenty miles above Cæsarea Philippi,† the spot usually assumed as its fountain-head, and visited by Miss Martineau and others as such. The true source lies, says the Rev. Mr. Thompson, an American missionary, "nearly northwest from Hasbeiya, and boils upon the bottom of a shallow pool some eight or ten rods in circumference. It at once forms a considerable stream. It meanders for the first three miles through a narrow, but highly cultivated valley, then sinks rapidly down a gorge of dark basalt for

* In the fourth chapter of the Book of Judges the host of Syria is said to have been swept away by this river.

† Kitto's Scripture Lands, p. 108.

about six miles, when it reaches the level of the great volcanic plain, extending to the marsh above the Huleh [Lake Merom]. Thus far the direction is nearly south; but it now bears a little westward, and in eight or ten miles enters the lake, not far from its northwest corner."

In summer, Merom makes one of the largest marshes anywhere known. The Arabs pasture their wretched herds on the northern part, but the southern remains through the dry season an impassable swamp. In winter the water is excellent, wild-fowl float upon it, water-plants fringe its edges, and numerous flocks of goats and sheep gather around. Nearly ten miles below this reedy marsh is the beautiful sheet of water now known generally and appropriately as the Lake of Tiberias (Arabic pronunciation Tabarēa), from the only town remaining upon its borders. Its size has been exaggerated; it is hardly twelve miles long by half as many broad, is still subject to squalls, and has a depth at times of one hundred and sixty feet; but its loveliness as seen by moonlight in the winter season is not overdrawn. At a distance the battlemented Tiberias seems keeping watch over the sleeping beauty, snowy Hermon pierces the clear sky to the north, the mountains around are gemmed with flowers, and the unruffled waters glitter like silver as they course wave after wave down towards the solemn Sea of Death. Besides the associations which throng the scene of the Saviour's principal teachings, which hush the voice and oppress the heart, a grave-like silence broods all around. No plash of the oar is any more heard, no net of fishes any more drawn. Except Tiberias, one of the four holy cities of the Jews (of which the Talmud says, "Were Jehovah worshipped here no more, creation would come to an end"), and a few families at the ancient Magdala, mistaken by hasty travellers for Capernaum, Providence seems to have crowned with these mountain turrets the tomb of a once crowded life. Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum, Gennesaret, have wholly gone. Abundance of delicious fish is yet found in the lake. There is no question of the natural fertility of these flowery hill-sides; only the history is written out in this sad desolation of the crushing sceptre of Turkey succeeding to the comparative mildness of Roman rule. Tiberias is the only inhabited place worth naming, and

even that, but for religious prejudice, would be abandoned. Not only is the proverb still true, that the "king of the fleas holds his court there," but it requires the enchantment of distance to make its sight endurable. In January, 1837, an earthquake levelled much of the walls, piled up the streets with ruins, killed many persons, and gave the inhabitants a warning which they refuse to take. As the town has no business, and many Jews reach it entirely penniless, to linger out, in this heated volcanic basin, years of debility, disease, want, and defeated hope, it is not strange that travellers are glad to escape from the most wretched, filthy, woebegone, unhealthy place in the whole land. Throughout their ancient home the Jews appear more heart-sick and miserable every way than in any other country; partly because they are actually destitute; partly because they have had to suffer such enormous oppression in years past; partly because of the saddening memories of what their fathers lost through the wantonness of prosperity, ingrained into them by the fasting and devotion which, particularly in Tiberias, divide their days.

The Dead Sea is thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and nearly a thousand below the Lake of Tiberias. As but sixty miles interpose between the two inland sheets of water, and no falls were to be heard upon the river, some error was supposed to exist in the calculation. The United States party settled this matter quite satisfactorily. The distance by an air-line is only sixty miles, but the perpetual windings of the Jordan make two hundred; and though the river has no Niagara, its course is a succession of rapids, which the wooden boat purchased by Lieutenant Lynch at Tiberias (their last boat) could not endure. It is in fact a headlong torrent, leaping as if down the sides of a mountain at the rate of twelve knots an hour, changing its winter depth of a dozen feet into less than three in the hottest weather. Though bathers bind themselves together by ropes, many are washed away and drowned every year. Naked and lofty mountains border the valley through which it flows, but the immediate banks, where swellings annually occur, though not enough for a real "overflow," are lined with canes, willows, tamarisks, and oleanders, in an impenetrable jungle. At its

best state, the river is not perceived till one stands almost over its sunken waters, and back of the screen of a Mississippi-like growth come wide plains, abundantly productive if watered as at Jericho, but an absolute desert if cooled by no living stream.

The Dead Sea is an expansion of the Jordan, the mountains receding from the shore, and rising on either side to the height of fifteen hundred and two thousand feet. Professor Robinson ascertained that the assumption of there having been no lake on this spot until the destruction of Sodom was quite unfounded. Traces of volcanic action abound; a sulphury taint is perceptible in the air; the water, though necessarily less pungent when we visited it, in winter, than in summer, is more unpleasant than any known medicinal springs; the effect upon the skin is of a prickly, burning oil; the waters themselves have no smell, but a book dropped in by the American expedition would not dry; and its metal boats were kept brightly polished by the molten waves. All travellers find it difficult to bathe in such buoyant waters, and quadrupeds roll over on their sides and become terrified by their strange position. No actual death is to be found in or around the waters; but the close and suffocating atmosphere tends to fever, a sensation of feebleness creeps over one, any wound festers, after a little while the body appears dropsical, and the sufferings from thirst are peculiar. While one eighth of the fertilizing Nile is ascertained to be animalcula, no trace of animal matter can be found in the Dead Sea, and the shores are sometimes so hot in April as to blister the feet. Of course they are barrenness itself.

The most interesting fact, however, is one which Humboldt declares to be without a parallel in the known world. One portion of this sea is sunk nearly thirteen hundred feet below the rest, and so constitutes the lowest piece of water in creation; and through its middle a ravine has been detected running from north to south in continuation of the Jordan, — a proof that this was once the river's channel, but that it has been submerged by some monstrous earthquake and spread out into this deep bed, whose actual state has been lying concealed for ages. The sea is of more regular figure than has been represented, and covers about forty miles by nine.

The most difficult question regarding the Holy Land is its capacity to sustain within such narrow limits the three millions of Jews who possessed it in the days of its prosperity. And at first sight, its verdureless mountains, its stony fields, its frequent deserts, its craggy heights, its waterless wastes, tempt one to cry, "Impossible." But before one takes sides with the sceptic in this matter, let him do justice, if he can, to the simplicity of Syrian life, and the contentedness of its present population, and probably of its older occupants, with an amazingly slender diet. The Orientals have long been satisfied with less than the crumbs of an Englishman's table. A few easily raised vegetables are all which the native craves; unleavened bread and wild honey are his banquet; the Bedouin never feasts, and often fasts. No hot country demands or permits so much animal food as a cold climate, and it is animal food which requires such wide space to support life. Even the horse and camel pass the year without a taste of grass or hay. All the other customs of the people — and these customs are, without a doubt, the heritage of the past — equally economize room. A single suit of clothing, unchanged during the night, — an explanation of the Mosaic injunction about the return of the pledged garment at evening, — is all which the common people expect; and this appears to be worn day and night, until it has to be abandoned. One or two small rooms, furnished with a mat, two earthen jars, one for grain and the other for water, and an oil-cup for a lamp, corresponding to the ancient Grecian in shape, are the necessary equipage for housekeeping. Is it not plain enough, that a life of such abstinence might be crowded compactly, as it is at this hour in China, and cannot be at all estimated by the proportion of *our* population to the square acre? And that the vast numbers reported in the historical books of the Old Testament are not wholly fabulous is demonstrated by the present ruins of Gerasa.* This almost unvisited place was, be it borne in mind, nothing but an agricultural station, an obscure inland town, yet its principal theatre was larger than that of Bacchus at Athens; and, besides this accommodation for eight thousand persons,

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, Chap. XXI.

there was still another theatre, a circus, and a naumachia, in the very heart of the Peræa. These remains, which were discovered by Burckhardt, and which are in remarkable preservation, considering where they are found, prove that a dense population has existed in luxurious circumstances where there is at present a wilderness.

Another fact is equally certain. No one can do justice now to the natural gifts of the Land of Promise. If for centuries New England were given over to continual spoliation, if the green crops were swept away by the wild men of the desert and the ripe ones were seized by a blindly despotic government, the traveller would find it hard to believe that agricultural towns each of more than ten thousand inhabitants had ever existed among us. Perpetual misrule, uninterrupted oppression, have changed the village to a graveyard, the garden to a field of stone, the city to some low huts where humanity struggles faintly against fearful odds. The besom of war has swept over all these once fertile plains. Upon Esdraelon "the Assyrians and the Persians, the Jews and the Gentiles, Crusaders and Saracens, Egyptians, Turks, Arabs, and Franks, have poured out their blood. Bonaparte achieved a signal victory on this famous field, and retired again in disgrace from Syria over this battle-ground of nations."* And looking a little closer, you see many a tower, marking the spot of an ancient garden, in the midst of forlorn desolation, — many a terrace along the barren hill-side where once were ripened such delicious grapes as refresh the traveller upon Mount Lebanon, and wine was produced in abundance by a similar labor to that which makes the present wealth of the valley of the Rhine. The severe rains recurring every winter, and sweeping with unequalled force over such hilly grounds, have carried away much excellent soil, and left many a valley a mere stone-heap, — as towards Jerusalem from the north, — and many a mountain like Gerizim as barren as it was once blest in almost perpetual production. If the land as originally promised was "flowing with milk and honey," it was also promised, even of old, that, if the people proved apostate, the curse of barrenness should fall upon the laughing valley, the verdant hill-side, the

* Dr. E. D Clarke.

luxuriant plain, and the vine-clad mountain. So that Judea as it is, being foreshadowed in our sacred books, cannot be turned into an argument against Judea as it was.

We will now notice as briefly as possible the other points most interesting to the Christian. It has been well said, that, though "the Arab lurk for plunder among the ruined cities of Judea and the Turk may rule on Mount Zion, they cannot rob Bethlehem of its cradle." And this half-ruined village, with its grotto of the Nativity, has its interest still. Its people are poor: their rich fields are robbed by the Arabs while they are ripening for the harvest, and by the Turks when the crops are gathered in. Their chief subsistence is by the sale of beads of olive-wood and crosses of mother-of-pearl to pilgrims and travellers. The position of the place has much of its ancient beauty. From its hill slope extend orchards and gardens, then the tomb, according to unvaried tradition, of Rachel, and the Greek convent of Elias, and in the distance the dome-crowned city of Jerusalem.

The place of the Saviour's birth is shown underneath a convent-church, erected by St. Helena; the silver star, that once denoted the point above which the "star in the East" rested its course, has been stolen away, the Latin friars say by the Greeks; the Greeks probably refer the robbery to their Latin *friends*. Dr. Robinson's principal objection to this spot, that the pretended stable is a cavern,* is very surprising, when many subterranean places are so employed in Palestine still; and nothing can be more natural, under so sultry a climate, than this application of many of those grottos which abound through the limestone formations of the land. Dr. Robinson was wrong in not visiting the ground, and mistaken in placing the convent at a distance from the village. A change has come over the public mind regarding these local traditions. The early pilgrims carried with them the credulity of children; later visitors came to doubt, and went away to sneer. A better feeling is now observed, a wise discrimination is made: where every thing favors and nothing opposes the tradition, as at

* Vol. II. p. 79.

Bethlehem, it is accepted in its simplest form.* The yet-remaining name Beitlahem, the well-known distance from Jerusalem, uncontradicted tradition, mark this as "the city of David." And the position of the convent, its great age, the unanimous opinion of Syrian natives, select that particular spot as the scene of the most auspicious event in the history of the world. Jerome's study, where he translated the Scriptures, and his final resting-place, besides the tombs of many other Christian saints, are shown, no doubt, correctly enough. Different sects have fought for the possession of this hallowed ground, and the privilege of saying mass at a particular altar on a fête-day has even been disputed within a few years by drawn swords.†

Nazareth is more prosperous, better built, quite flourishing, and altogether the most agreeable resting-place of the European traveller; and yet the local legends are not at all satisfactory. The principal Latin church, remarkable for the most impressive matin and vesper service to be witnessed in Syria, is still more celebrated for covering the spot whence the Virgin's house was believed to have been transported through the air to Loretto. The grottos underneath seem larger apartments than so humble a family would have occupied, and Joseph's work-shop is shown at quite another part of the village. One sees, too, that the friars must have been tempted to fix the abode of the Holy Family underneath their ancient church, in order to gratify Catholic pilgrims by a convenient altar more tenderly associated with the Blessed Master. Had this cavern been indeed the early home of the Saviour, the Evangelists could hardly have failed to allude to the fact in illustration of his humility. It is far more likely that the family occupied one of these many similar cottages of stone. The town in general has not materially changed for centuries; perhaps four of the five thousand inhabitants are Christians, descendants, no doubt, of the Syrian converts of the Crusaders, wearing a

* It is but fair to state that Kitto's "Cyclopædia" takes precisely the opposite view (Art. *Bethlehem*); while his "Scripture Lands" does not pretend to give an opinion. Lieutenant Lynch evidently agrees with us, and gives his testimony to the use of the Syrian caverns for cattle at the present time (*Narrative, &c.*, p. 424).

† Buckingham's Travels, Chap. XII.

general aspect of comfort and independence, possessing fertile fields and some small manufactures.

Capernaum, the Saviour's city, has entirely vanished, like Pella and Gadara, Chorazin and Bethsaida, Dalmanutha and Gennesaret; but Tiberias confidently shows its Chapel of St. Peter upon the spot of the miraculous draught of fishes. It is a single arched room of great age, though the celebrated travellers Irby and Mangles detected an inverted Arabic inscription upon part of the arch, proving that the stones were taken from some other building, and that the antiquity of their present form is not what has been claimed.

Bethany, the next place of interest, is a small, poor farming village, occupied by perhaps thirty families, the best of whom would hardly be said "to live" by our agricultural population. The largest house, a winter ago, could furnish the traveller no bed but the earth floor, and no food save an egg or two. The original name appeared to be quite forgotten; Erzereer, or, as Dr. Robinson writes it, "el-Aziriyel," is the only one known in the vicinity. Of course, the house of the "Sisters" and of the "Leper" and the tomb of Lazarus are shown to all who ask for them; as it would be difficult to find an incident in sacred history for which monastics have not marked out a site, and repeated their affirmation for so many centuries as now to report it without hesitation, and believe it without a doubt. American Christians who come to the country, as Dr. Wainwright says in his recent elegant work, to believe rather than doubt, to kindle the heart rather than quicken critical acumen, are glad to receive the legend upon tolerable evidence; but here there is really none. The tomb of Lazarus could not have been in the village, as this is; neither does its construction bear the signs of so great age.

Jerusalem is more overdone with these legends than any other city, and it is a sad day, exhausting as well as bewildering, when the Latin guide marches the traveller over all the principal points, to "the stone where Lazarus" sat, — "the house of Dives," — the arched window which presented Barabbas to the people side by side with Jesus, — "the house of Veronica," — the corner where the Saviour said, "Weep not for me, weep for yourselves," — the place "where Simon took the cross"

and "where the Master fainted." But passing over in appropriate silence legends which could have had no means of outward authentication, and others which are utterly improbable, there is still a great deal left to touch the heart and quicken devotion.

Near the entrance to the grand gate of the ancient Court of the Gentiles is part of the Pool of Bethesda, an excavation partially lined with cement, so as to have been unquestionably a reservoir, even now seventy-five feet deep, three hundred and sixty long, and one hundred broad. Dr. Robinson was able to trace the work, under some arches that have been built to sustain streets, a great distance farther; and probably half of the ancient "house of mercy" is hidden from us by modern buildings. Dr. Robinson cannot be right* in rejecting this designation, and placing here the deep ditch of the fortress Antonia, not merely because there is no contradiction in the hearsay attached to this work, but because the work itself is not of a military character, was peculiarly designed to hold water, and, while no other spot can be found for Bethesda, no authority has yet been produced for the existence of this vast fosse.

The Temple of Solomon has of course entirely disappeared. But the Mosque of Omar, hardly second in sanctity to that of Mecca, lifts up its exquisite marble walls on the same proud height. Underneath its dome a rock rises up, supposed to be part of the original foundation of the Jewish temple; on one angle remain the arches erected by Herod; possibly some of the ancient treasures repose in the unexplored caverns beneath; the area is substantially the same as the ancient one; but no Jew or Christian can even mount its outermost step; and the intrusion of a Frank into the great court would be avenged by his blood. Had England suffered the country to remain under the mild sway of Egypt, which abolished the Kafaar-toll exacted at every village, sanctioned the building of Jewish synagogues, authorized Europeans to bear fire-arms, and gave to strangers the protection of their own resident consuls, the most interesting inclosure in the world would be open to view, the country at large might have been progressing, instead of

* Vol. I. p. 433.

receding, agriculture must certainly have increased, and the roads to Petra and Palmyra would have been thrown freely open. But English interference has commonly been an injury to the people amongst whom it is intruded, an arrest of civilization and an injury to other members of the commonwealth of nations. The few years of Ibrahim Pacha's sway gave the monks their first breathing-time, brought the Bedouin to terms, secured the safety of the principal roads, and lent Jerusalem an impulse not yet exhausted. His name is repeated now by the Arab watch-fire, and in the dreary silence of the cloister, with a gratitude approaching veneration.

The Holy Sepulchre and Calvary are a heaven upon earth to the Catholic pilgrim. One of these traditions may be rejected and the other yet be retained. There is no necessity for fixing the scene of an infamous punishment hard upon the new tomb of a man of wealth, certainly not for gathering this murderous crowd within a garden, carefully kept as it must have been, in the midst of the best buildings of the city. But it does not appear improbable that, if no other locality were treasured in Christian hearts, this of the Redeemer's burial-place might have been; as the grotto was not likely to be disturbed, and the city itself never was entirely destroyed. Protestant opinion is inclining to accept this part of the legend, and to recognize somewhere in these subterranean caverns the sepulchre of the Saviour. Upon approaching the church, quite a busy bazaar is found around the door, reminding one, by the noisy chaffering for crosses, chaplets, shells, and relics, of the money-changers' tables which the Saviour overturned in the Court of the Gentiles. Within the entrance recline the Turkish guard, stationed to prevent Christians from venting their mutual animosity in bloodshed. Immediately in front is a plain slab of Jerusalem marble, a little above the floor of the church, professedly the stone on which the Saviour was anointed. In the centre of the main building and directly beneath its great dome are the "angel-chapels," containing the sepulchre. The first of them, a beautiful room about eight feet square, has nothing but "the stone on which the angel sat when he announced the resurrection." The inner apartment, ever brilliantly lighted, has a low sarcophagus in the shape of an altar, and space

for six persons to kneel. And those are not to be envied who can stand unmoved on a spot where the most fervent devotion has gushed forth in an uninterrupted stream for fourteen centuries, and where possibly the Redeemer of the world found his last resting-place on earth.

One sight within the Zion Gate of this prospering yet solemn city deserves mention, — the huts of the lepers. This hereditary but not contagious disease still nestles in the bosom of the land, has time out of mind occupied this same spot under all changes of masters, is known in three forms as it was to Moses, is helped to be incurable by ancient religious prejudice, and presents the most pitiable beggary the world has ever seen. At the gate of the ancient Sychar, and outside of the southern entrance of Jerusalem, are to be found every day a crowd of men and women, uplifting their shrivelled white hands and shrunken but imploring faces, to obtain alms of the passer-by. There the leper still keeps at the gate (2 Kings vii. 3), "still dwells alone without the camp," marrying only with wretches like himself, and perishing by piecemeal at the age of forty years. Only at these points, and at Damascus, where "the house of Naaman" is set apart for their hospital, does the disease make its appearance in public; and there it is evidently shunned as "unclean," abandoned to despair, and cast out from the sympathy of humanity.

One other melancholy sight can never be forgotten. In a narrow street, close against the outer wall of the Court of the Gentiles, is to be seen every Friday noon a double line of Jews bewailing their national ruin, repeating the penitential psalms, and crying, "O God, how long!" Old men and maidens, fathers and children, seem to be pouring out their souls in an agony of sorrow, at times sobbing aloud, and even beating their heads against the cold, gray stones. It is the day on which Titus took the city. They have observed it from the earliest time when they could venture within its holy walls, and have long regarded these stones as part of the ancient inclosure of their House of God.

It is refreshing to find such tenacity to a God-given faith, such strong hope surviving the ages of persecution. Without a temple, a country, or a home, the nationality

of the Jew is unimpaired, his expectation of a peculiar Redeemer is unshaken. When the anger of Jehovah is appeased by his heroically-borne suffering, he looks to recover his ancient glory under a Divine Prince, sitting on the throne of David, judging the tribes of Israel. So that the smallest Jewish contract at Jerusalem has always this clause: "or until the coming of Messias." *

But their recovery of the soil of their fathers is not at all improbable. Even now, did Europe look on in silence, nothing could bar it against them. The only stronghold, Acre, is ruined; the citadel of Damascus is but a name; the comely battlements of Jerusalem are hardly protection against Arabs; no fleet girdles the coast; no power has much interest in a profitless possession, already costing so much blood. Abdul Medjid has to look to England even for the security of his own Constantinople, and, had he strength by land or sea, could not spare it from trembling Turkey. But the Jews are said to be as numerous now as in their day of glory, and wherever they reside, whatever their occupation, though the heart faint with long-deferred hope, that heart beats the same as of old; no luxury of a higher civilization, no success belonging to their business acumen, no ease under the relaxation of sectarian bigotry, no favor bestowed on their often proscribed worship, can wean them from the Land of Promise, the graves of their fathers, the altar of Jehovah's accepted worship, the expected scene of Divine manifestations yet to come.

Upon the borders of the land and within it are said to be a million and a half of Jews, waiting with keenest anxiety for the hour of restitution, — a million and more familiar with the resources of the land, its mountain fastnesses, its pathless wildernesses, its ancient strongholds against Assyrian or Roman, — a million and more, if not trained soldiers, yet trained to suffer and endure, — if kindled with the sense of wrong, yet patient as the brooding storm, — if slow to strike, yet quick to die for the hope of Israel. A mere whisper of permission from any strong government like England would invite in such numbers as would change the desert into the garden again, and the heap of ruins into the busy city, — would arouse a

* This was assured me by the English consul at Jerusalem, Mr. Finn.

slumbering quarter of the world, send fresh life through the stagnant veins of the East, and reclaim a prodigal son from the swine's husks to the family of civilization, the household of humanity. Restored to their only home, their one altar, their bleeding yet idolized land, Christendom might see with wonder the nobility of that race from whom its own Saviour came! Christianity might find better access to a race whom it befriended instead of tormenting! The word of prophecy would reveal to us a new significance in the declaration, that "the Lord will gather Israel from the people, and assemble them out of the countries where they have been scattered, and will comfort the waste places of Zion, and make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord." F. W. H.

Art. III. — THE ORIGIN AND FATE OF MORMONISM.*

This volume affords the best account that has fallen under our notice of the greatest religious imposture of this age on this continent. Nor is it so strange as might at first sight appear, that such a book should have been produced in England rather than in the United States. Great Britain has contributed her full relative proportion to the victims and abettors of that stark imposture, Mormonism. The number of its professed adherents who have emigrated hither from that island is computed at fourteen thousand. When we consider, too, the strength of faith and the fanaticism of zeal necessary to inspire the motive for emigration in such a cause, and also, that foreign disciples are generally more fervent and earnest than those of native growth, we may not unreasonably conclude that Joe Smith was indebted to his imported converts as much, at least, as to those of our own soil, for the temporary success of his folly. His missionaries found ready credence across the water, and even the

* *The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints: with Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith, the "American Mahomet."* Illustrated with Forty Engravings. London: Office of the National Illustrated Library. 1852. 12mo. pp. 326.

printed reports of his doings in the newspapers drew hither hundreds of dupes. It is certain that Mormonism has always attracted more attention abroad than it has received in our immediate community. In our neighborhood it has been regarded either as too shallow a cheat, or too monstrous a delusion, to deserve a deliberate treatment. The beautifully illustrated volume before us is a compilation made by one who never came hither to visit the scenes, or to study the actual living fruits, of Mormon folly. We should regard the volume as, on the whole, well suited to convey just impressions, and as aiming successfully to give a fair view of its subject. Though we have not been indebted to it for any of the facts which we are about to lay before our readers, we readily adopt it as an introduction to what we have to say. As we have never presented this subject at any length in our pages, we have no apology to offer for inviting attention now to a brief rehearsal of the origin and the present fortunes of by no means the least memorable of the frauds which have been practised in the name of religion. Nor are we dealing with a defunct superstition.

Joseph Smith, the author of the Mormon imposture, is first heard of at Palmyra, New York. There he came to manhood some thirty years ago. His father was a farmer, but was much given to incantations, divinations, mysteries, enchantments, wild imaginations, money-digging by night, delusions, deceits, and lies. Joseph seems to have been a favored child. He inherited his father's whole character, and greatly augmented the store of the above precious gifts; adding thereto a permanent and extensive real property of laziness. His practice seems to have been in the most extravagant and silly lies, for the purpose of trying to what extent his subjects might be duped.

We will first introduce Smith senior to our readers. In the testimony under oath of Mr. Peter Ingersoll, taken in 1833, it is stated that the deponent

"was a neighbor of Smith from 1822 to 1830. The general employment of the family was digging for money. Smith senior once asked me to go with him to see whether a mineral rod would work in my hand, saying he was confident it would. As my oxen were eating, and being myself at leisure, I went with him. When we arrived near the place where he thought there

was money, he cut a small witch-hazel, and gave me direction how to hold it. He then went off some rods, telling me to say to the rod, 'Work to the money,' which I did, in an audible voice. He rebuked me for speaking it loud, saying it must be spoken in a whisper. While the old man was standing off some rods, throwing himself into various shapes, I told him the rod did not work. He seemed much surprised, and said he thought he saw it move. It was now time for me to return to my labor. On my return I picked up a small stone, and was carelessly tossing it from one hand to the other. Said he (looking very earnestly), 'What are you going to do with that stone?' 'Throw it at the birds,' I replied. 'No,' said the old man, 'it is of great worth.' I gave it to him. 'Now,' says he, 'if you only knew the value there is back of my house!' and pointing to a place near. '*There*,' said he, 'is one chest of gold and another of silver.' He then put the stone which I had given him into his hat, and, stooping forward, he bowed and made sundry manœuvres, quite similar to those of a stool pigeon. At length he took down his hat, and, being very much exhausted, said in a faint voice, 'If you knew what I had seen, you would believe.' His son, Alvin, went through the same performance, which was equally disgusting.

"Another time the said Joseph senior told me that the best time for digging money was in the heat of summer, when the heat of the sun caused the chests of money to rise near the top of the ground. 'You notice,' said he, 'the large stones on the top of the ground; — we call them rocks, and they truly appear so, but they are, in fact, most of them, chests of money raised by the heat of the sun.'"

The good character and veracity of this deponent are established by the testimony of several witnesses, and the like account of Smith's family is given by Rev. John A. Clark and others. Mr. Clark says: —

"Joe Smith, who has since been the Mormon Prophet, belonged to a very shiftless family near Palmyra. They lived a sort of vagrant life, and were principally known as money-diggers. Joe, from a boy, appeared dull and destitute of genius, but his father claimed for him a sort of second-sight, a power to look into the depths of the earth, and discover where its precious treasures were hid. In their excursions for money-digging Joe was usually the guide, putting into his hat a peculiar stone, through which he looked, to decide where they should begin to dig."

Mr. E. D. Howe, in his book called "Mormonism Unveiled," quoted by Bennett, says: "If the eleven wit-

nesses" (who testified to the finding of the Golden Bible) "are considered, from what has already been said, unimpeached, we will offer the depositions of some of the most respectable citizens of our country, who solemnly declare upon their oaths, that no credit can be given to any one member of the Smith family." Such is the general tenor of the testimony in relation to the family.

These estimable traits of the head of the family were crowned with the graces of idleness and drunkenness. They were all centred in the person of Joseph Smith, Jr., and developed in him with greater fulness. They became in him, not a dead faith without works, but practical virtues, which he studied to make profitable by applying them to persons of simple and credulous minds, in such a way as to work for his advantage.

Such details as are above given of the character of Smith senior, and his acts and language, cannot be very interesting to readers; but as it is only by acts and language that a man's character can be authentically presented, while any general statements in regard to him, given as deductions merely, are liable to the imputation of being prejudiced, the same mode of showing the character of the younger Smith will be pursued, by extracts from the depositions of eye and ear witnesses.

William Stafford "first became acquainted with Joseph Sen. and his family in 1820. They lived in Palmyra, about one mile and a half from my residence. A great part of their time was devoted to digging for money: especially in the night-time; when they said the money could be most easily obtained. I have heard them tell marvellous tales of the discoveries they had made in their money-digging. They would say, for instance, that in such a place, on such a hill, on a certain man's farm, there were deposited kegs, barrels, and hogsheads of coined silver and gold, bars of gold, golden images, brass kettles filled with gold and silver, gold candlesticks, &c. They would say, also, that nearly all the hills in this part of New York were thrown up by human hands, and in them were large caves which Joseph Jr. could see, by placing a stone of singular appearance in his hat in such a manner as to exclude all light; — at which time they pretended he could see all things within and under the earth; that he could see within the caves large gold bars and silver plates; that he could also discover the spirits, in whose charge these treasures were, clothed in ancient dress. At certain times these treasures could be obtained very easily; at others, the obtaining of them was

very difficult. The facility of obtaining them depended in a great measure on the state of the moon. New moon and Good Friday, I believe, were regarded as the most favorable times for obtaining these treasures. . . . . .

"Joseph Smith Sen. came to me one night, and told me that Joseph Jr. had been looking in his glass, and had seen, not many rods from his house, two or three kegs of gold and silver, some feet under the surface of the earth; and that none others but the elder Joseph and myself could get them. I consented to go, and early in the evening repaired to the place of deposit. Joseph Sen. first made a circle twelve or fourteen feet in diameter. This circle, said he, contains the treasure. He then stuck in the ground a row of witch-hazel sticks, around the circle, for the purpose of keeping off the evil spirits. Within this circle he made another, of about eight or ten feet in diameter. He walked around three times on the periphery of the last circle, muttering to himself something, which I could not understand. He next stuck a steel rod in the centre of the circles, and then enjoined profound silence upon us, lest we should arouse the evil spirit who had the charge of these treasures. After we had dug a trench about five feet in depth around the rod, the old man, by signs and motions, asked leave of absence, and went to the house to inquire of young Joseph the cause of our disappointment. He soon returned, and said that Joseph had remained all this time in the house, looking in the stone and watching the motions of the evil spirit; that he saw the spirit come up to the ring, and as soon as it beheld the cone which we had formed around the rod, it caused the money to sink. We then went into the house, and the old man observed that we made a mistake in the commencement of the operation. If it had not been for that, said he, we should have got the money.

"At another time they devised a scheme by which they might satiate their hunger with the mutton of one of my sheep. They had seen in my flock of sheep a large, fat, black wether. Old Joseph and one of the boys came to me one day, and said that Joseph Jr. had discovered some very remarkable and valuable treasures, which could be procured only in one way. That way was as follows: — that a *black* sheep should be taken on to the ground where the treasures were concealed; that, after cutting its throat, it should be led around a circle while bleeding. This being done, the wrath of the evil spirit would be appeased; the treasures could then be obtained, and my share of them was to be fourfold. To gratify my curiosity, I let them have a large, fat sheep. They afterwards informed me that the sheep was killed pursuant to commandment; but as there was some mistake in the process, it did not have the desired effect. This, I

believe, is the only time they ever made money-digging a profitable business. They, however, had around them constantly a worthless gang, whose employment it was to dig money nights, and who daytimes had more to do with mutton than money.

"When they found that the people of this vicinity would no longer put faith in their schemes for digging money, they then pretended to find a Gold Bible, of which they said the Book of Mormon was only an introduction."

Such is the testimony of Messrs. Ingersoll and Stafford, under oath. Many other deponents testify to the same effect, with the additional relation of the drunkenness of both Joseph senior and junior. Barton Stafford says, that

"Joseph Smith senior was a noted drunkard, and most of the family followed his example, and Joseph Jr. especially, who was very much addicted to intemperance. In short, not one of the family had the least claims to respectability. Even since he professed to be inspired of the Lord to translate the Book of Mormon, he one day, while at work in my father's field, got quite drunk on a composition of cider, molasses, and water. Finding his legs to refuse their office, he leaned upon the fence, and hung for some time: at length, recovering again, he fell to scuffling with one of the workmen, who tore his shirt nearly off from him. His wife, who was at our house on a visit, appeared very much grieved at his conduct, and to protect his back from the rays of the sun, and conceal his nakedness, threw her shawl over his shoulders, and in that plight escorted the prophet home."

Fifty citizens of Palmyra certify that "Joseph Smith Sen. and his son Joseph were, in particular, considered entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits." And eleven citizens of Manchester certify that the family of Joseph Smith Sen. "were not only a lazy, indolent set of men, but also intemperate, and that their word was not to be depended on, and that we are truly glad to dispense with their society."

These extracts from the depositions given in New York, some eighteen or twenty years since, in the beginning of the Mormon imposture, exhibit a vivid picture of the character of Joe Smith. Some of the touches are done with a rough brush, but they are evidently after life, and not the creations of fancy. We have therefore thought necessary to copy them to this extent;—that

our readers may be made acquainted with the character of Smith better than by any attempt on our part to delineate him anew. Such an attempt, though it might present an accurate general likeness, would be apt to fail in some of the important features. The most prominent traits of his character were a disposition to deal in the marvellous, to see what was invisible, — spirits, hidden treasure, and the like, — to pretend to extraordinary powers, to delude and impose upon the neighbors, swindling, lying, and drunkenness. He seemed to have the natural endowments for making dupes, in a larger measure than the rest of the family, and to have been selected as the Coryphæus of the fascinating circle. He could see better and farther into the earth, by the aid of the miraculous eye-stone, than any of the others; could discern the evil spirits, keeping watch over the hidden treasures; could readily describe the wonders he had seen; and had in perfection that high gift, of so great value in all knavery, the power of which is acknowledged in the saying, "A lie well told is as good as the truth." The facile impudence of his lies seems to have been such as to gain ready credit in shallow minds, and to make them easy dupes to his art. His own account of the finding of the Golden Bible is a good illustration of this accomplishment; — though it is not introduced in this place for that purpose, so much as on account of the probably correct statement which it gives of that great era in the life of Smith and in the Mormon Church, — the discovery of that precious wonder. The story is related in the deposition of Peter Ingersoll, from which extracts have been already given. The deponent says: —

"One day he came and greeted me with a joyful countenance. Upon asking the cause of his unusual happiness, he replied in the following language: — 'As I was passing yesterday across the woods, after a heavy shower of rain, I found in a hollow some beautiful white sand, that had been washed up by the water. I took off my frock, and tied up several quarts of it, and then went home. On my entering the house, I found the family at table, eating dinner. They were all anxious to know the contents of my frock. At that moment I happened to think of what I had heard about a history found in Canada, called the Golden Bible: so I very gravely told them it was the Golden Bible. To my surprise they were credulous enough to believe what I said.

Accordingly, I told them I had received a commandment to let no one see it: for, said I, no one can see it with the naked eye and live. However, I offered to take out the book and show it to them, but they refused to see it, and left the room. . . . . .'* Notwithstanding he told me he had no such book, and believed there never was any such, yet he told me that he actually went to Willard Chase, to get him to make a chest, in which he might deposit his Golden Bible. But as Chase would not do it, he made a box himself of clapboards, and put it into a pillow-case, and allowed people only to lift it, and feel of it through the case."

That he went to Mr. Chase, as he related, appears from the testimony of Chase.

There were other stories related about the attempts made by Smith to find the Bible, which appear to have occurred at the time of finding the sand. The stories are told by Smith and his father. They differ each from the other, and it is needless to say that they both differ from the above, related by Joe to Ingersoll.

As this pretended discovery of the Golden Bible is the grand event from which Mormonism, with all its beautiful efflorescence, has sprung, the various versions of that occurrence by the prophet cannot well be omitted. In September, 1827, he requested Mr. Willard Chase to make a chest, stating that he expected soon to get his Golden Bible, and he wanted a chest to lock it up. This was no doubt the occasion of which he spake, when he informed Mr. Ingersoll, as related on a previous page, that he had gone to Chase for that purpose: though it seems he did not tell him, as he had told Ingersoll, that he had found it, but only that he expected to find it. A few weeks after, Mr. Chase says, he came to his house and related the following story. That on the 22d of September he arose early in the morning, and, together with his wife, repaired to the hill which contained the book. He left his wife in the wagon by the road, and went alone to the hill, a distance of thirty or forty rods from the road. He said he then took the book out of the ground and hid it in a tree-top, and returned home.

* The part omitted is Smith's remark on this scene. It is considered unfit for repetition here, on account of its profane vulgarity. It expressed that he had the fools fixed, and would carry out the fun: these words being a part of the omitted phrase.

The old man, Smith Sen., had another tale, highly embellished with the marvellous, according to his usual manner, about the precious discovery. In the summer of the same year, 1827, according to Chase's testimony, he related to him that, some years previous, a spirit had appeared to his son Joseph, in a vision, and informed him that in a certain place there was a record on plates of gold, and that he was the person that must obtain them; and this he must do in the following manner. On the 22d of September he must repair to the place, dressed in black clothes, and riding a black horse with a switch tail, and demand the book in a certain name; and after obtaining it he must go directly away, and neither lay it down nor look behind him. They accordingly fitted out Joseph with a suit of black clothes (no doubt the especial object of the vision) and borrowed a black horse. He repaired to the place of deposit, and demanded the book, which was in a stone box, unsealed, and so near the top of the ground that he could see one end of it, and, raising it up, took out the book of gold; but fearing some one might discover where he got it, he laid it down to place back the top stone, as he found it; and turning round, to his surprise there was no book in sight. [Joseph should have been more obedient to the directions of the spirit.] He again opened the box, and in it saw the book, and attempted to take it out, but was hindered. He saw in the box something like a toad, which soon assumed the appearance of a man, and struck him on the side of his head. Not being discouraged at trifles, he again stooped down and strove to take the book, when the spirit struck him again, and knocked him three or four rods, and hurt him prodigiously. [Hard-fisted for a spirit.] He was commanded by the spirit to come again in a year. He did so, and again received the like command. He went again the third time, and saw the book and a pair of spectacles, with which he afterward translated the Book of Mormon. At this interesting point of the romance the particularity of the old man's story gives out, and it is not distinctly stated whether he obtained the book or not; but as it seems that he has since had the spectacles as well as the book, we are to suppose that both were obtained together at this third attempt, toad and hard-fist notwithstanding.

Smith thus became possessed of a sacerdotal capital, marvellous in its nature, marvellous in the pretended mode of acquiring it, and, combined with his marvellous courage in obtaining it, most marvellously adapted to work upon the credulity of the simple and superstitious. He accordingly, when he found there were fools to believe him, which was quite beyond his expectation, commenced a career of lying on a more extended scale than he had hitherto practised. He held communications with God, who revealed to him what he should do: which was always the thing that he would himself have proposed, and was specially effective for his individual advantage. He began his translation of the Golden Bible, or Book of Mormon. The origin of the book is a matter of undoubted proof, and will be explained in a few words. The mode in which Smith became possessed of it is also pretty well substantiated.

Solomon Spalding, who was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and had been a regularly ordained clergyman, after a short term of years passed in preaching, relinquished the ministry, and removed first to Cherry Valley, New York, and subsequently, in 1809, to Conneaut, in Ohio, and engaged in mercantile business. While in this place he occupied his hours of leisure from business in writing a fabulous account of the origin of the former inhabitants of this country; — on which work he labored for several years. As he intended that the origin of his work should appear fictitious, as well as the narrative, he determined to introduce it to the public as a volume found in a cave, and, to give it the appearance of antiquity, he wrote in the style which is used in the common translation of the Scriptures. He completed the volume about 1812 or 1813, at about which period it was announced in the papers of the day, as a discovery, then recently made, of the Book of Mormon, containing a history of the lost tribes. From some cause the publication of the volume was delayed, and some fifteen years after, Smith, who got possession of the book by a fortunate accident, pretended to have found the Book of Mormon on plates of gold, in the manner above related, and to be engaged in translating it from the unknown tongue in which it was written. It appears that he retained the book in the form in which it had been pre-

pared by Mr. Spalding, altering the text only or chiefly by the interpolation of certain matters which purport to be revelations from God to Smith, in which he is represented as a prophet, clothed with all sacerdotal power, and implicit faith and obedience in and to him are enjoined upon the saints. With this capital and his unequalled impudence he imposed himself on a credulous few as a prophet of God. In the State of New York there is a class of persons not educated to the knowledge of law, and who do not appear in the courts as counsel or attorney, but, having attained some acquaintance with the statute law, and the forms of judicial proceeding, with a voluble style of speaking, make a business of managing causes, if it be correct so to say, before justices of the peace. They are called, not by way of contempt, but of designation, *pettifoggers*. If we have correct information, Sidney Rigdon was of this profession. With him and Martin Harris, a neighbor of some property, Smith associated himself in the beginning, and thus secured to his aid talents, such as they were, (certainly superior to his own,) and pecuniary means. These were all-important to his success; — and having persuaded them that money was to be made out of Mormonism, the principal object of himself and Harris at least, if not of Rigdon, they went heartily into the job of publishing the Book of Mormon, and of building up the Church. With these men and Cowdry, who appears to have acted as scribe in writing the interpolations in the Book of Mormon, or, in Smith's language, translating it, and who was the first cabinet minister or vizier to the prophet, and the addition of two or three of his brothers and old associates, he constituted a Church to the number of six, and commenced his career as a prophet, at Fayette, in the western part of New York, in 1830. His first efforts in the line of prophesying met with some success; — and after he had increased his Church by the addition of a number of proselytes, he concluded to remove to Kirtland, Ohio. He accordingly promulgated a revelation to that effect; — and the members of the Church removed to that place, which became honored as the ecclesiastical seat and the residence of the prophet, as it continued to be till 1838, though many of the brethren had removed some years earlier to

Missouri. The acts of Smith in this place may be taken as fair exponents of his general purposes. In 1831, soon after their removal to Kirtland, a revelation was promulgated that they should consecrate all their property to God (of necessity to be handled and managed by his prophet). A mercantile house was established by Smith and others, probably aided by the funds that had been thus consecrated. He had no other means. Some of the leading men were sent to Missouri, and settled themselves at Independence; a branch of the Kirtland trading-house being also established there. Smith had now met with success quite beyond his most sanguine expectations. Numbers were added to the Church, and in 1833 he promulgated a revelation to his followers to build a temple. For this purpose all were directed to borrow as much money as possible. This plan of raising money by loans, however, was not so successful as he desired; — and four years later the Bank of Kirtland was put in operation, on authority of and by charter from Smith, without incorporation by the State, and proved a happy expedient to replenish the prophet's treasury, at a time when the ecclesiastical properties and revenues from other sources were about at zero, and to swindle those who were persuaded to take its worthless promises. The institution exploded in a few months, and Smith and most of the saints removed to Far West, in the State of Missouri.

So great had been the increase of the society during the residence at Kirtland, that the settlements at Far West and Independence now included some thousand male members, or thereabout, beside those remaining at Kirtland and at other places.

The origin of the Book of Mormon as given above is authenticated by the depositions of eight witnesses, to whom the book had been at different times read. Mr. Spalding died in 1816. His widow confirmed the testimony of the other witnesses in relation to the existence of the work, and said that it had been left at the office of Patterson and Lambdin, printers in Pittsburg, where her husband had resided two years between the completion of the book and his death. Dr. Bennett, who was at one time in the most important offices at Nauvoo, and in the fullest confidence of the other highest func-

tionaries of the Mormons, says that he was informed by them, that the book was taken from that office by a distinguished Mormon divine, understood to be Rigdon, and remodelled by adding the religious (?) portion, placed in Smith's possession, and by him published to the world. An incident is related concerning the manuscript while it was in the hands of the printer, by J. N. T. Tucker. Mr. Tucker was, at the time of its publication, a printer in the office of Patterson and Lambdin, and he relates the story as follows: —

"We had heard much said by Martin Harris, the man who paid for the printing, and the only one in the concern worth any property, about the wonderful wisdom of the translators of the mysterious plates, and resolved to test their wisdom. Accordingly, after putting one sheet in type, we laid it aside, and told Harris it was lost, and there would be a serious defect in the book in consequence, unless another sheet like the original could be produced. The announcement threw the old gentleman into quite an excitement. But after a few moments' reflection, he said he would try to obtain another. After two or three weeks another sheet was produced, but no more like the original than any other sheet of paper would have been, written over by a common school-boy, after having read as they did the manuscripts preceding and succeeding the lost sheet."

It would seem from the above story, that the TRANSLATOR had not a very clear idea of what had been revealed. Another incident which happened many years later in Missouri is of similar import. It is related by General J. C. Bennett on the authority of George Robinson, as follows: —

"One day Joe the prophet was gravely dictating to him a revelation which he had just received from the Lord. Robinson, according to custom, wrote down the very words the Lord spoke to Joe, and in the exact order in which the latter heard them. He had written for some considerable time, when Smith's inspiration began to flag, and, to gain breath, he requested Robinson to read over what he had written. He did so until he came to a particular passage, when Smith interrupted him, and desired to have that read again. Robinson complied, and Smith, shaking his head, knitting his brows, and looking very much perplexed, said, 'That will never do, you must alter that, George.'"

The Mormon Bible, as their writings are called, consists of several volumes. The Book of Mormon was

printed at the outset of Smith's career as a prophet. An account of the origin of this book has been given. Probably the interpolations which were made by Smith in Spalding's work were not very voluminous; as it cannot be supposed that Smith had formed any definite plans at this time. His designs were at first shadowy and limited. They were developed and became distinct by success. When he first reported in his father's family the story of his having found the Golden Bible, he appears to have had no purpose but to amuse himself at the expense of their credulity. Finding his tale was given to ears of faith, his design extended to raising a little money. Here again success attended him; — and he found the purse of his neighbor, Martin Harris, at his disposal. But Harris's object was money-making, as well as Smith's, and it became necessary to enlarge the plan and extend the sphere of action, in order that both the inventor and the capitalist should make the largest profit from the business. The services of Rigdon were accordingly enlisted. The Book of Mormon was printed, additions made revealing the will of God; — in which Smith was declared to be his prophet with all power, and entitled to all obedience. In a revelation made about the same time, April 6, 1830, the same day that the Church of six members was gathered at Fayette, Smith is styled "Seer, Translator, Prophet, Apostle of Jesus Christ, and *Elder* of the Church." He is declared also to be "inspired of the Holy Ghost to lay the foundation of the Church, and build it up in the most holy faith." Further it is said, "*The Church shall give heed to all his words and commandments, which he shall give unto you, for his word shall ye receive, as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith.*" He is to preside over the whole Church, and be like unto Moses, to be a Seer, Revelator, Translator, Prophet, having all the gifts which God bestows upon the Head of the Church. In a subsequent revelation, given February, 1831, his divinity confers on him the exclusive right to receive and give forth commandments from the Lord, and also power to appoint his successor; and the Church are commanded to uphold him, to appoint him, to provide him food and raiment, and whatsoever things he needeth, to accomplish his work, with threats for disobedience. In a revelation,

September, 1831, all Smith's dignities and titles are conferred on him for life. And at about the same time it is declared by revelation, that Smith had no strength to work; therefore the Church is commanded to support him.

In 1833, the Book of Commandments was published, constituting the second book of the Mormon writings: or more truly it may be said to be the first; its predecessor having been written by other hands, with a different design, and having been published, with a few interpolations, before the establishment of the six confederates as a Church, and before the designs of the prophet had assumed any regularity of shape. The Book of Commandments, like the Book of Mormon, contained very imperfect developments of the will of the prophet. Smith's was a growing will. He was a man of progress, and it became necessary to have frequent revelations and new volumes to keep even pace with the new demands of his will. In 1835, a new edition of the Book of Commandments was published. In the first edition of this work, God had commanded Smith to pretend to no other gift than to translate, according to Professor Turner in his "Mormonism in all Ages," and expressly declares "that he will grant him no other gift." The second edition adds, "until my purpose is fulfilled in this. For I will grant you no other gift until it is finished." Oddly enough, the prophet seems to have overlooked some of his great commissions and powers, or we must suppose that he had resigned them, or that God had revoked them. For it will be remembered that in 1830, at the period of establishing the Church at Fayette, God had constituted him "Seer, Prophet, Apostle of Jesus Christ, and Elder of the Church, and Revelator," in addition to the office of Translator; — and in a revelation of the next year, February, 1831, it is explained that his *divinity* confers on him the power of receiving and giving forth commandments, and also of appointing his successor. In September, 1831, all his dignities and titles are conferred on him for life. A defect of memory seems to be universal with liars. Smith had manifested the same weakness at other times; and probably the limitation of his power in the Book of Commandments was owing to forgetfulness. He evidently also forgot

another office, which he frequently exercised, that of Alterator, by which revelations were from time to time altered by him. At about the time of the second edition of the Book of Commandments, or in 1835, the Book of Doctrines and Covenants received the approbation of the Mormon General Assembly. This was about the time when the prophet's organ of acquisitiveness was receiving a remarkable development. He had become possessor of a large treasure in virtue of his office of President of the Church, the members of which had been commanded to give all their substance to the Lord. He was about building the temple at Kirtland, and had by revelation commanded the saints to borrow all the moneys possible. In this last volume another method of acquisition was revealed, which out of the Mormon Church is commonly called theft: — "Behold it is said in my laws it is forbidden to get in debt to thine enemies" (or those out of the Church); "but, behold, it is not said, at any time, *that the Lord should not take when he pleases, and pay as seemeth him good.* Wherefore, as ye are agents, and ye are on the Lord's errand, and whatsoever ye do according to the will of the Lord is the Lord's business, and he hath sent you to provide for his saints," &c. (*Doc. and Cov.*, p. 147.)

The revelation before mentioned, enjoining the members to borrow all the moneys they could, and this last, which was a happier afterthought, for taking in the name of the Lord, were two of the means for raising the Church revenue, which was mostly appropriated in two modes; — the first and most important use was to furnish sustenance to the President of the Church, the second to build the Temple. A third means to aid him in obtaining the necessary funds was the establishment of the Bank of Kirtland, and the trading-house before mentioned. The bank was established, without charter, except that derived from the will of the prophet, in 1837. Both bank and shop, however, broke in the year 1838, and the vicinage of Kirtland not being a profitable vineyard for gathering, in the spiritual manner directed in the last revelation, and the takings in the Lord's name not being sufficient, the prophet and a large number of the Church removed in this year, 1838, to Far West in Missouri. To the period of this migration, the eight

years of prophesying had been a period of unanticipated success. As a business it had proved decidedly superior to gold-digging in the hills of Palmyra, and had supplied the worldly wants of the prophet, which were not measured by a very narrow scale, and acquired for him no little ecclesiastical fame and success. He was, consequently, every day looking to larger things, extending his vision over a broader field, and, *pari passu*, revealing new powers, immunities, and privileges conferred upon himself by the Lord; — which seemed to be, indeed, the special object of all the revelations. The sojourn in Missouri was of short duration. The saints continued there about a year; but, having committed some robberies and violence, paying a more willing obedience to the command to "take in the Lord's name" than the Missourians considered for their advantage, they were driven out by an armed mob, and compelled for safety to fly the State. They migrated to Illinois in the spring of 1839, and settled at Nauvoo, so named by them, where they were speedily joined by great numbers, mostly from England, and in three years numbered, it is said, ten thousand, of those gathered at that place.

At the settlement of Nauvoo a large tract of land was purchased, comprising some hundreds of acres. This, of course, was purchased by Smith, who, in addition to his other offices, was treasurer of the society. The thousand or two who came from Missouri were entitled to lots. The eight or ten thousand who came afterward, mostly from England, were also entitled to lots, but subject to the condition on which all were placed, that they should impart of their substance to the Lord. "If thou lovest me, thou shalt keep my commandments, and thou shalt consecrate all thy properties unto me, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken." This revelation was made at Kirtland in the first or second year of the Church, and published in the Book of Commandments, and subsequently in the Book of Doctrines and Covenants, adopted by the body in 1835. "It is wisdom in me that my servant Martin Harris should be an example unto the Church in laying his moneys before the bishop of the Church. And also this is a law unto *every man* that cometh unto this land to receive an inheritance: and he shall do with his moneys according as the law di-

rects." A very large amount was paid into the treasury, the whole of which was under Smith's control, and mostly devoted to his expenses, by virtue of the revelation before mentioned, that he had not strength to work, and must be supported. The revelations to this effect were more frequent than any others, and of course a faithful Mormon must consider it as the most sacred of his duties. "Provide for him" (Smith) "food and raiment, and whatsoever he needeth." (*Doc. and Cov.*, p. 126.) "Let the bishop appoint a storehouse unto this Church, and let all things, both in money and in meat, which is more than is needful for the wants of this people, be kept in the hands of the bishop" (Smith). "And let him also reserve unto himself for the wants of his family, as he shall be employed in doing this business." (*Book of Cov.*) "It is meet that my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., should have a house built, in which to live and translate." (*Doc. and Cov.*, p. 189.) "And now I say unto you, as pertaining to my boarding-house, which I command you to build for the boarding of strangers, *let it be built unto my name, and let my name be named upon it*, and let my servant Joseph and his house have places therein from generation to generation." This last revelation was after the removal to Nauvoo; and it was added, "Let the name of that house be called the Nauvoo House." The house was built, and, according to common reputation in that part of the country, the prophet and revelator kept as good a tavern therein as the average of public houses in those parts. It proved a profitable business, and was, therefore, a valuable accessory to prophesying, as that and all of Smith's offices and employments had a special eye to the main chance.

Perhaps some readers are disposed to inquire, What are the religious tenets of the Mormons? That is a question much more easily asked than satisfactorily answered. Neither Smith, the founder of the Church, if it is not sacrilege to call this community a church, nor any one of the five who composed, with him, its members, at the original gathering at Fayette, had an idea of any definite religious faith, or a capacity to explain it, if any had been formed, with the exception, probably, of Rigdon. It was not by any means a leading object with them to hold any faith or make any profession. Smith was a

veiled prophet. He was careful to conceal the sight of his Golden Bible, under penalty of immediate death to those who should look upon it. It may be supposed that the peculiar doctrines and articles of faith held by the prophet were affected with the same fatal effulgence as the Golden Bible. For we believe it is a fact, that to the present time both are nearly alike unknown to mortal sight and sense. What few propositions are stated for the belief and guidance of the Church are contained in the revelations delivered from time to time by Smith, as suited his purposes for the moment. He had no fixed design or established platform of faith. The revelations were mostly directory, and had special relation to the fisc. The Church were directed to give their moneys to the Lord; to take, in the Lord's name, from the Gentiles, — which the prophet, in his significant and refined phrase, termed "milking the Gentiles"; and to support Smith. These and kindred injunctions constituted, in great part, the burden of the revelations. Other revelations go to affirm the inspiration of the books, and the holy character of Smith, to whom in all things they were to be obedient, as the revelator of the will of God. Inspiration and miraculous powers were also conferred upon the saints. Thus the following revelation: —

"And as I said unto mine apostles, even so I say unto you, for ye are mine apostles; therefore, as I said unto mine apostles, I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your word, and is baptized with water for the remission of sins, shall receive the Holy Ghost, and these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall cast out devils, heal the sick, open the eyes of the blind, unstop the ears of the deaf; and if any man shall administer poison unto them, it shall not hurt them." — *Doc. and Cov.*, p. 92.

There was a series of revelations, also, in relation to the future political power of the Mormon Church. In this class are the following: —

"Verily I say unto you, that in time ye shall have no king nor ruler. For I will be your king, and watch over you; and you shall be a free people, and ye shall have no laws but my laws, when I come." — *Doc. and Cov.*, p. 119.

"Assemble yourselves together, to rejoice upon the land of Missouri, which is the land of your inheritance, which is now in the hands of your enemies." — *Ibid.* p. 194.

"Therefore get ye straightway into my land; break down the walls of mine enemies, throw down their tower, and scatter their watchmen, avenge me of mine enemies, that by and by I may come and possess the land." — *Ibid.* p. 238.

Smith's work was not only wholly without plan, design, and shape, like chaos before the creation, but it was full of darkness also; it was utter confusion. Thus when his great powers were promulgated to the Church of six, at Fayette, on the day of forming that Church, April 6, 1830, he is styled, among other official titles, "Apostle of Jesus Christ, &c., through the will of God the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ"; implying clearly a belief in Christ, and, of course, in his revelations of the will of God.

Yet the following revelation, published some years subsequently, must be understood as repudiating Christ and his doctrines, and setting up the Book of Mormon instead: —

"And this condemnation resteth on the children of Zion, even all; and they shall remain under this condemnation until they repent, and remember the new covenant, even the Book of Mormon." And "Behold, I say unto you, that all old covenants have been done away in this thing, and this is a new and an everlasting covenant." — *Book of Covenants*, pp. 91, 178.

Yet notwithstanding this announcement that all old covenants were done away, the preachers continued to draw their texts from the Old and New Testaments, and to make their discourses in supposed conformity thereto, like other sects. There is a similar inconsistency and confusion on other points.

The body of Mormon doctrine and faith, of divinity and morality, is summed up in this; — what may be delivered from time to time, by revelation.

The Book of Covenants, which contains the basis of their faith, includes only a small part of the revelations given to Smith. There is a large volume of unpublished revelations, which it would be indiscreet to expose until the proper time. The few points of faith which can be distinctly named are, first, as to the nature of faith itself, which is largely discussed in the first part of the Book of Covenants, and affirmed to rest on human testimony. Next, as to the nature of God. They believe

in the Trinity. And in the last chapter on faith, it is laid down, that men know their acceptance with God only through the medium of the sacrifice of all earthly things. In this last point there is a most perfect and exact consistency and harmony throughout. All the revelations concur in directing them to give their moneys to the Lord. It is the great point of faith, without which there is no acceptance.

A large portion of the converts of the Mormon Church have been drawn from England, and principally from the poorer of the laboring class. Those who have been acquainted with the English laborer know that the mental condition of this class is one of the most woful darkness. They seem to surpass in stolid ignorance the poorest specimens of their kindred from the Emerald Isle. Others of the English converts are, however, of good education, as well as many of the American members of the Church. In the matter of property, the article of faith last named, that they know of their acceptance with God only through the medium of the sacrifice of all earthly things, sufficiently explains their condition. It was Smith's purpose, not only to "milk the Gentiles," but the saints also. Those, therefore, who had any means, on coming into the fold usually surrendered it to the shepherd. And what property might be afterward acquired would be likely to have the same destination. They avoided the payment of a tithe of their income to swell the church revenues, when they emigrated from England to the holy city. But those of them who had money or other property were obliged to sacrifice the whole to the Lord.

While in Missouri, during the twelvemonth sojourn in that State, the members of the society, under Smith's inducements of revelations and menaces, were organized as a band for general pillage of the Gentiles. They were called by the name of Danites, and consisted, according to the testimony of one of their number under oath, of eight or ten hundred men. The deposition states that they were building block-houses, and their purpose was, if the produce raised was not sufficient for their support, to take it from the other citizens. The band took an oath to support Smith against the State authorities, and to cowhide any person who should say a word against

him. They had a small band also, called the Destroying Angel, whose duty was said by Bennett to be to assassinate those who came under the displeasure of the Church or the chief. This band, as stated in the above deposition, made a visit to the Indians, to induce them to join Smith against the people of Missouri. This deposition was given in September, 1838; and in the following month the counties of Caldwell and Davies were overrun by their forces, the inhabitants mostly driven out into the neighboring counties, their houses, farms, and stores pillaged, and some buildings burned. Several of Smith's church-members were also compelled to leave the society and the county, in consequence of their dissent from these proceedings. Among them were Cowdry and the two Whitmers, who had been three of the original certifiers to the genuineness of the Book of Mormon, and the first a professed scribe and translator, an early and eager participant in Smith's imposture, who went two or three hundred miles to see him, and was the means of inducing the removal of the Church from Fayette to his own place of residence, Kirtland. It is stated in the testimony of another of the dissenters, who had been President of the Twelve Apostles and President of the Church at Far West, that a company was sent out to bring in fat hogs, cattle, and honey, and at the same time another, composed of eighty men, under command of a captain, marched to Gallatin, and by their own report had run off twenty or thirty men, and burnt Gallatin. They also robbed the postmaster, and pillaged the neighborhood. The same deponent says: "The plan of said Smith the Prophet is to take this State" (Missouri), "and he professes to his people to intend taking the United States, and ultimately the whole world." This deposition was confirmed by Orson Hyde, one of the twelve apostles, who left the Church from a conviction of their immorality and impiety. He says: "The most of the statements in the foregoing disclosure I know to be true. The remainder I believe to be true." Hyde is not a very good witness. He has since gone back to the Mormons. But the statements in the deposition have other confirmation. The last, relating to their possessing and ruling the country, is plainly foretold in the revelations, and, extravagant as it may appear, the de-

sign to fulfil this prophecy is testified to by other witnesses.

In consequence of this course of rapine and pillage, the citizens assembled in great numbers, and drove the robbers from the State. They went to Illinois and formed the settlement at Nauvoo, as before stated.

The era of the migration from Missouri to Illinois may be marked as a period of great progress in the prophet's affairs. For it seems to be at about this time that he began more systematically to carry out his designs of setting up a political power, in addition to his pontificate; and also greatly to enlarge the bounds of privilege pertaining to the priestly office, especially in the holy institution of spiritual polygamy. From this period till his death, a little more than three years, was the most prosperous day of the short and sunny span of Smith's life. Commanding by a nod some two thousand votes, and, if occasion called, as many bayonets for open war and bowie-knives for secret service, the politician courted his influence, and the city and the field felt and feared his power. Having promulgated the revelation he had received from God, commanding polygamy as a Christian duty, it became the prophet to set a good example in obeying the command, and Mahomet himself could not boast more holiness, if it should be measured by the number of his favorites, than Smith.

His progress from the beginning of his manhood to this time reminds one of a banker who starts in the world by selling a half-penny-worth of apples and cakes at a stall on a gala-day, and ends by loaning monarchs a hundred millions to uphold their thrones. Smith began with nothing more than the small wares of a common liar: and he gradually extended his dealings, as his capital increased and his credit enlarged, till he had made himself the prophet whose word, blasphemous and filthy as it was, was gospel truth and law to ten thousand trusting souls, and the political master and sovereign by whom the worldly and social affairs of his people were dispensed and governed, and the people themselves ruled, by an absolute and supreme dominion. He had neither foreseen nor designed the great things that were to come out of his brazen artificery of lies. Taken up for the sport or the gain of the moment, for freak or fancy,

they became of unexpected value and importance by the credulity of those who received them; — and the money-digger found such a ready and profitable market for the sale of his marvels, that he was instigated to go into the trade more at large, until by constant increase he found himself the possessor of the souls, bodies, and fortunes of his ten thousand dupes, — of supreme ecclesiastical power, great political influence, and large wealth.

The Book of Covenants had put an end to the authority of the Bible, and set up instead the revelations made through Smith. "Behold, I say unto you, that all old covenants have been done away in this thing, and this is a new and an everlasting covenant." (*Book of Cov.*, p. 178.) And having thus set aside the Gospel, it was the next design to set aside all law also, except what came from Smith. "Verily I say unto you, that in time ye" (the Mormons) "shall have no king nor ruler. For I will be your king, and watch over you; and you shall be a free people, and ye shall have no laws but my laws, when I come." (*Doc. and Cov.*, p. 119.) There are other passages looking to a complete temporal as well as spiritual dominion of the Mormon President. Thus we have shown the blossoming of this Mormon plant. The period of the Church after the migration to Illinois was high summer: the fruit was coming fast to maturity, and the prophet himself, while doing a good business in the "Nauvoo House," and creating a great political influence, and holding the aspiring demagogues in the hollow of his left hand, as he held his Mormons in his right, employed his more politic thoughts and serious moments in establishing a military power, of which himself was the head, as of all the other matters; — and in promulgating new revelations for the increase of the priestly privilege, especially in the multiplication of wives; — and in the aggrandizement of the Church, by the building of the great temple.

Soon after the settlement at Nauvoo, Smith obtained from the State authorities the commission of Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, and organized a military force of two or three thousand men, which he had put under a very good state of discipline, and was evidently preparing to fulfil that prophecy according to which he

was to rule the earth. The command "to take in the name of the Lord," was obeyed here with more reserve and caution than in Missouri, it is true. The lesson given them in that State had taught them to be more private in this part of their religious duty. Still it was performed to such an extent as to be very onerous upon the stores and crops of the neighboring Gentiles, and aroused a spirit of hostility among the dwellers round about the holy city. Some of those who were injured, having become possessed of information tending to criminate Smith in the attempted assassination of Governor Boggs of Missouri, communicated it to the civil authorities of that State, and a requisition was made on those of Illinois to deliver him up as a fugitive from justice, to be tried for that offence. Smith concealed himself, but being found by an excited mob who went to seek him, consisting of citizens of the county of Hancock, he, with his brother Hiram, was instantly killed. For a time after this event quiet prevailed, but the fire was only smothered, not quenched. After a year or two, new troubles arose. There was a set battle between the Mormon forces and the militia of the State, and the former were driven out. Some went to the western border of Iowa, and formed a settlement on the Missouri River. A large body went to Salt Lake, in the valley between the Nevada and Rocky Mountains. Others soon after followed, and accessions from time to time have been made to them.

The United States government having constituted this district a Territory, with a political organization, officers were appointed in accordance thereto. Most unfortunately, the President appointed Brigham Young, an English Mormon but a few years resident in this country, and whose merits are chiefly an inheritance of the dignities and spiritual offices of Smith, whose mantle he wears, as the supreme executive of the Territory. Several other of the most important offices were given to the Mormons. The policy of thus investing with the highest offices men who had been concerned in the worst crimes cannot be questionable. Its result could not be good. Two of the Judges, and the Secretary, not being of the Mormon Church, have been virtually displaced by Young and his confederates, and compelled to return.

They report that Young assumed all the government, violently seized on the moneys, declared that no law should be administered but through him, and that no authority should prevail in the Territory but that of the Church. This is only carrying out the command of the revelations given by Smith, and formerly attempted in Missouri and Illinois; — and, being in accordance with the religious duty of the faithful, is no more than was to have been expected.

They report also some instances of violent dealing similar to that practised in Missouri on those who were obnoxious to them; and a very faithful obedience to the revelation enjoining polygamy.

Perhaps few readers have had the patience to read so long a story on so disagreeable a subject. But this discussion of the Mormon history ought not to terminate without allusion to a miracle, which is related by Mr. Tucker, the same who gave the incident connected with the printing of the Book of Mormon. It is thus told in the volume published by Dr. Bennett.

"Towards the close of a fine summer's day, a farmer, in one of the States, found a respectable-looking man at his gate, who requested permission to pass the night under his roof. The hospitable farmer readily complied: the stranger was invited into the house, and a warm and substantial supper set before him.

"After he had eaten, the farmer, who appeared to be a jovial, warm-hearted, humorous, and withal shrewd old man, passed several hours in pleasant conversation with his guest, who seemed to be very ill at ease, both in body and mind, yet, as if desirous of pleasing his entertainer, replied courteously and agreeably to whatever was said to him. Finally, he pleaded fatigue and illness as an excuse for retiring to rest, and was conducted by the farmer to an upper chamber, where he went to bed.

"About the middle of the night, the farmer and his family were awakened by the most dreadful groans, which, they soon ascertained, proceeded from the chamber of the traveller. On going to investigate the matter, they found that the stranger was dreadfully ill, suffering the most acute pains, and uttering the most doleful cries, apparently without any consciousness of what was passing around him. Every thing that kindness and experience could suggest was done to relieve the sick man; but all efforts were in vain, and, to the consternation of the farmer and his family, their guest expired in the course of a few hours.

"In the midst of their trouble and anxiety, at an early hour in

the morning, two travellers came to the gate, and requested entertainment. The farmer told them that he would willingly offer them hospitality, but that just now his household was in the greatest confusion, on account of the death of the stranger, the particulars of which he proceeded to relate to them. They appeared to be much surprised and grieved at the poor man's calamity, and politely requested permission to see the corpse. This, of course, the farmer readily granted, and conducted them to the chamber in which lay the dead body. They looked at it for a few minutes in silence, and then the oldest of the pair gravely told the farmer that they were elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and were empowered by God to perform miracles, even to the extent of raising the dead; and that they felt quite assured they could bring to life the dead man before them.

"The farmer was, of course, considerably astonished by the quality and powers of the persons who addressed him, and rather incredulously asked if they were quite sure that they could perform all they professed to.

"'O, certainly! not a doubt of it. The Lord has commissioned us expressly to work miracles, in order to prove the truth of the prophet, Joseph Smith, and the inspiration of the books and doctrines revealed to him. Send for all your neighbors, that in the presence of a multitude we may bring the dead man to life, and that the Lord and his Church may be glorified to all men!'

"The farmer, after a little consideration, agreed to let the miracle-workers proceed, and, as they desired, sent his children to his neighbors, who, attracted by the expectation of a miracle, flocked to the house in considerable numbers.

"The Mormon elders commenced their task by kneeling and praying before the body with uplifted hands and eyes, and with most stentorian lungs. Before they had proceeded far with their prayer, a sudden idea struck the farmer, who quietly quitted the house for a few minutes, and then returned, and waited patiently by the bedside until the prayer was finished, and the elders ready to perform their miracle. Before they began, he respectfully said to them, that, with their permission, he wished to ask them a few questions upon the subject of their miracle. They replied that they had no objection. The farmer then asked, 'You are quite certain that you can bring this man to life again?' 'We are.' 'How do you know that you can?' 'We have just received a revelation from the Lord, informing us that we can.' 'Are you quite sure that the revelation was from the Lord?' 'Yes, we cannot be mistaken about it.' 'Does your power to raise this man to life again depend upon the particular nature of his disease, or could you now bring any dead man to life?'

'It makes no difference to us, we could bring any corpse to life.' 'Well, if this man had been killed, and one of his arms cut off, could you bring him to life, and also restore to him his arm?' 'Certainly, there is no limit to the power given us by the Lord. It would make no difference, even if both his arms and his legs were cut off.' 'Could you restore him if his head had been cut off?' 'Certainly we could.' 'Well,' said the farmer, with a quiet smile upon his features, 'I do not doubt the truth of what such holy men assert, but I am desirous that my neighbors here should be fully converted, by having the miracle performed in the completest manner possible. So by your leave, if it makes no difference whatever, I will proceed to cut off the head of this corpse.' Accordingly, he produced a huge and well-sharpened broadaxe from beneath his coat, which he swung above his head, and was apparently about to bring it down upon the neck of the corpse, when lo, and behold! to the amazement of all present, the dead man started up in great agitation, and swore he would not have his head cut off for any consideration whatever.

"The company immediately seized the Mormons, and soon made them confess that the pretended dead man was also a Mormon elder, and that they had sent him to the farmer's house, with directions to die there at a particular hour, when they would drop in, as if by accident, and perform a miracle that would astonish every body. The farmer, after giving the impostors a severe chastisement, let them depart, to practise their humbuggery in some other quarter."

It is certainly to be hoped, that some wisdom and some warning will be gathered by the world from the exposure of the successive frauds which have been practised upon popular credulity, so that they may be fewer in number and at longer intervals of recurrence in years to come.

W. J. A. B.

Art. IV. — LORD JEFFREY.*

The interest of this work centres in the fact, that its subject was the prime agent of a literary revolution. The incidents of his life are the reverse of extraordinary; his professional career has been surpassed, in many instances, by his fellow-advocates; his habits were systematic and moral; and his outward experience was the usual alternation of business, society, journeys, and rural seclusion, which constitutes the routine of a prosperous and intelligent citizen. A native of Edinburgh, where he was chiefly educated, he passed a few uncomfortable months at Oxford; returned home and finished his preparatory studies, under excellent teachers; after much hesitation, adopted the law as a pursuit; in due time was admitted to the bar, rose to the office of Lord Advocate, took an active part in politics, was twice happily married, the second time to an American lady, to wed whom he crossed the Atlantic, in the winter season and during the last war between the United States and Great Britain; — he visited London frequently, and there enjoyed the best intellectual society; made excursions to different parts of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland; engaged zealously in the debates and genial intercourse of one of the most brilliant clubs ever instituted; and died in his seventy-seventh year, deeply lamented by a large and gifted circle of Edinburgh society, as well as by a tenderly attached family and a host of noble friends. In this career, so eminently respectable and fortunate, there is obviously little to impress the public. No dramatic scenes, curious adventures, tragic combats with fate, or touching mysteries of inward life; — all is plain, sensible, prudent, and successful. With the exception of a rhetorical triumph, a good descriptive hint of scenery or character, and those interludes of sorrow incident to the lot of man, when the angel of death bears off the loved and honored, a singularly even tenor marks the experience of Jeffrey, as described in his correspondence.

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* *Life of Lord Jeffrey. With a Selection from his Correspondence.* By Lord Cockburn. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 343, 368.

Neither is there discoverable any surprising endowment or fascinating gift, such as renders the very name of some men a spell to quicken fancy and to draw tears. The order of his mind is within the sphere of the familiar; only in aptness, in constant exercise and skill, was it above the average. With the utilitarian instinct and thorough rationalism of his country, Jeffrey wisely cultivated and judiciously used his powers; above all, he never distrusted them, but, with the patience and the faith of a determined will, kept them at work to the best advantage, and probably reaped as large a harvest, in proportion both to the quality of the soil and the quantity of the seed, as Scotch shrewdness and thrift ever realized. Yet, to continue the similitude, it was more by successive crops, than by grand and lasting fruits, that his labor was rewarded; some flowers of fancy and a goodly stock of palatable fodder grew in his little garden, but no stately evergreens, sacred night-bloom, or glowing passion-flowers, such as make lovely for ever the haunts of original genius. To drop metaphor, Lord Jeffrey owes his reputation, and is indebted for the interest of his biography, to the eclat, influence, and fame of the Edinburgh Review. The merit of taking the initiative in a more free and bold style of periodical literature, the advantages of the reform thus induced, and the intellectual pleasure derived from the open and spirited discussion, by adequate writers, of public questions, are benefits justly associated with his name and altogether honorable to his memory. These services, however, are identified, in many minds, with an undue sense of his critical authority and a submission to his dicta occasioned by a graceful effrontery of tone, rather than absolute capacity.

Circumstances greatly favored his literary success. At the epoch of the commencement of his enterprise, the liberal party stood in need of an efficient organ. The existent periodicals were comparatively tame and old-fashioned. It was one of those moments in public affairs, when a bold appeal was certain to meet with an emphatic response; and the party of friends, among whom originated the idea of a new and spirited journal, were not only fitted by the vigor of their age, the warmth of their feelings, and their respective talents, for the un-

dertaking in view, but were urged by their position, sympathy, and hopes. The great secret of the immediate popularity of the work was undoubtedly its independence. The world instinctively rallies around self-reliance, not only in the exigencies of actual life, but in the domain of letters and politics. Accordingly, the freedom of discussion at once indulged, the moral courage and spirited tone of this fraternal band, won not less than it astonished. The example, so unexpectedly given in a region distant from the centre of taste and action in the kingdom, of candid and firm assertion of the right of private judgment, the fearless attitude assumed, and the enlightened spirit displayed, carried with them a novel attraction and the highest promise. The Edinburgh Review was the entering wedge in the old tree of conservatism which had long overshadowed the popular mind; it was like the trumpet-note of an intellectual reinforcement, the glimmering dawn of a more expansive cycle in the world of thought. The feverish speculations ushered in by the French Revolution had prepared the way for the reception of new views; the warfare of parties had settled down into a truce favorable to the rational examination of disputed questions. The wrongs of humanity were more candidly acknowledged; a new school of poetry and philosophy had commenced; and in Scotland, where Jeffrey declares there was a remarkable "intellectual activity and conceit of individual wisdom," a medium of opinion and criticism such as this was seasonable and welcome. Yet it is characteristic of his cool, uninspired mind, that he entered upon the experiment with little enthusiasm. He says, in his correspondence, that his "standard of human felicity is set at a very moderate pitch," and that he has persuaded himself that "men are considerably lower than angels"; his expectations were confessedly the reverse of sanguine; and he eagerly sought to establish his professional resources and make literature subsidiary. His allies were finely endowed. The wit of Sydney Smith alone was a new feature in journalism; and the remarkable coterie of writers, of which the Review soon became the nucleus, gave it the prestige of more versatile talent than any similar work has ever boasted; so that the editor justly says: "I am a feudal monarch at best, and my throne

is overshadowed by the presumptuous crests of my nobles."

A novelty in Lord Jeffrey's position was the social and even civic importance this species of literature acquired. The idea of a man of letters had been associated with refinement, meditation, and a life abstracted, in a great degree, from the active concerns of the world. There was, however, something quite adventurous, exciting, and eventful in a vocation that so constantly provoked resentment and elicited admiration. Challenged by Moore, carrying Boswell drunk to bed in his boyhood, in correspondence with Byron, dining with Scott, living within constant range of Sydney Smith's artillery of *bon-mots*, the companion of Brougham, Mackenzie, Playfair, Erskine, Campbell, Hamilton, and other celebrated men of the day, his natural fluency derived point and emphasis from colloquial privileges; and doubtless somewhat of the antagonistic character of his writings was derived from the lively debates of the club, and excited by the attrition of such vigorous and individual minds. We are told of his "speculative playfulness," "graceful frankness," and "gay sincerity"; these, and epithets of a similar kind, sufficiently indicate the causes of his success, while they demonstrate the inaptitude of his mind for the most elevated departments of literature. It was through the very qualities that constitute agreeability in society that he pleased as a critic. More serious and intense writing would have repelled the majority. Lord Jeffrey made no grave demands on the thinking faculty; he did not appeal to high imagination, but confined himself to the level of a glib, polished, clever, and often very pleasant style. It was a species of man-of-the-world treatment of books, and therefore very congenial to mediocre philosophers and complacent men of taste.

But to recognize in such a critic the æsthetic principles which should illustrate works of genius, is to wantonly neglect those more earnest thinkers and reverent lovers of the noblest developments of humanity who have, through a kindred spirit, interpreted the mysteries of creative minds. There are passages in Coleridge, Ulrici, Schlegel, Mackintosh, Hazlitt, Wilson, Carlyle, Lamb, and Hunt, which seize upon the vital principle, give the magnetic clew, prolong the key-note of the authors they

have known and loved, compared to which Jeffrey's most brilliant comments are as a pyrotechnic glare to the beams of the sun. The list of two hundred articles contributed by him to the Edinburgh displays such a variety of subjects as it is quite impossible for any one mind either thoroughly to master or sincerely relish. The part which he most ably performs, as a general rule, is what may be called the digest of the book; he gives a *catalogue raisonnée*, in the broadest sense of the term, and this is excellent service. Biographies, travels, works of science, and history are thus introduced to the world under a signal advantage, when there is no motive to carp or exaggerate in the statements. Next to this class of writings, he deals skilfully with what, for the sake of distinction, we may call the rhetorical poets, — those who give clear and bold expression to natural sentiment, without a predominance of the psychological and imaginative. The school of Pope, which appeals to the understanding, the fancy, and to universal feeling, he understands. Hayley, Crabbe, Campbell, Scott, and portions of Byron, he analyzes well, and often praises and blames with reason; to Miss Edgeworth, Irving, and Stewart, he is just. But the sentiment of Barry Cornwall, the suggestive imagery of Coleridge, the high philosophy of Wordsworth, and the luxuriant beauty of Keats, often elude the grasp of his prying intellect.

The lack of spiritual insight was another disqualification of Lord Jeffrey as a critic of the highest poetry. Trained to logical skill, and apt in rhetoric, he never seems to have felt a misgiving in regard to their sufficiency as means of interpretation of every species of mental product. The intuitive creations of genius, born of the soul and not ingenuously elaborated by study, the "imagination all compact" of the genuine bard, were approached by his vivacious mind with an irreverent alacrity. To place himself in sympathetic relation with an individual mind, the only method of reliable criticism, was a procedure he ignored; the play of his own fancy and knowledge, and the oracular announcement of his judgment, were the primary objects; the real significance of the author quite secondary. He reviewed objectively, and arraigned books at his tribunal without that jury of peers which true genius

claims by virtue of essential right. A merely agreeable or indifferent subject thus treated may afford entertainment, exactly as a lively chat on the passing topics of the day amuses a vacant hour; but when the offspring of an earnest mind, and the overflowing of a nature touched to fine issues, are sportively discussed and despatched with gay authority, the impatience of more reverent minds is naturally excited. There was a philosophical elevation in Burke that tempered his severest comments; a noble candor in Montaigne that often reconciles us to his worldliness. Carlyle betrays so deep a sympathy that it robs his sarcasm of bitterness, and Macaulay is so picturesque and glowing that the reader cheerfully allows an occasional want of discrimination to unity of effect. But to that mental superiority which consists in sprightliness of tone and ingenuity of thought we are less charitable; pertness of manner is not conciliating; and offhand, nonchalant, and superficial decisions, in the case of authors who have excited real enthusiasm and spoken to our inmost consciousness, are not received without serious protest. It is for these reasons that Lord Jeffrey occupies but a temporary place; he did not seize upon those broad and eternal principles which render literary obligations permanent; he was an excellent pioneer, and cleared the way for more complete writers to follow; his independence was conducive to progress in criticism, and his agreeable style made it attractive; but a more profound and earnest feeling is now absolutely required in dealing with the emanations of genius. Too much of the merely clever and amusing manner of Horace Walpole, and too little enthusiasm for truth, characterize his remarks on the really gifted; in the discussion of current literature, the claims of which are those of information and style only, no reviewer can give a better compend, or sum up merits and defects with more brilliancy and tact.

It is natural to expect, in the posthumous biography of influential men, a key to the riddle of their success, a solution of the problem of character, and such a revelation of personal facts as will throw light upon what is anomalous in their career, or explain, in a measure, the process of their development. The lives of Dr. Johnson, of Sir Walter Scott, of Schiller, and, among recent instances, of Keats, Lamb, and Stirling, by the new infor-

mation they convey in regard to the domestic situation, the original temperament, and the private circumstances of each, have greatly modified previous estimates, and awakened fresh sympathy and more liberal judgments. The life of Lord Jeffrey leaves upon the mind a better impression of the man, than obtains among those who knew him only through the pages of the Edinburgh Review, while it confirms the idea which those writings suggest of the author. On the one hand, we find a love of nature and a life of the affections which could not have been inferred, at least to their real extent, from the articles on which his literary fame rests; and on the other, we perceive exactly the original habits of mind, course of study, and tendencies of opinion to be anticipated from his intellectual career. Accordingly, the integrity, steady friendships, conjugal and parental devotion, and enjoyment of the picturesque, which are so conspicuous in the man and so worthy of respect and sympathy, should not be allowed to interfere with our consideration of his merits as a writer and critic.

Jeffrey belongs essentially to the class of writers who are best designated as rhetoricians; that is, if closely analyzed, it will be seen that his force lies entirely in sagacity and language. Fluency, vitalized by a certain animation of mind, is his principal means of effect; words he knows well how to marshal in brilliant array; he points a sentence, rounds a paragraph, gives emphasis to an expression, with both grace and spirit. But the value of these elements of style is to be estimated, like the crayons and pigments of the artist, by the qualities they are made to unfold, the ideas they embody, the uses to which they are devoted. Jeffrey possessed them by virtue of an original quickness of intellect and patient industry. The most striking fact of his early culture is the perseverance with which he practised the art of composition, not as an academic exercise, but as a means of personal improvement; he wrote elaborate papers on various subjects; and at the end recorded his opinion of them, usually the reverse of complacent; and this course he pursued for years, as is proved by the quantity and the dates of the manuscripts he left. We require no stronger evidence of the predominance of the technical over the inspired in his authorship, than this deliberate

toil to master the art of expression, as a means of success, and a professional acquisition. It now appears that he carried the experiment into verse, and imitated the manner of all the English poets, evidently hoping to obtain the same facility in poetry as in prose. His good sense, however, soon induced him to abandon the former attempt; but the knowledge of versification and the machinery of this highest department of letters, thus acquired, was the basis of his subsequent criticisms, and accounts for his familiarity with the letter, and ignorance of the inward spirit, of the Muse. It is, indeed, a perfectly Scotch process, to set about a course of study and practice in order to think correctly even on subjects so identified with natural sentiment as to repudiate analysis. The romance of literature, or rather its highest function, — that of appealing to human consciousness and unfolding the mysteries of the passions and the sense of awe and beauty, — is effectually destroyed by so cool and premeditated an application of causality to emotion. There is in it a literal mode of thought utterly destructive of illusion; the vague and inexplicable, the "terror and pity" which lift our nature above itself, and ally it with the infinite, are quite unrecognized; the oracles of humanity are rudely disrobed, the sanctities of art violated for the sake of conventional propriety; and what should be instinctively regarded as holy, precious, and apart from the familiar, is made to wear a commonplace aspect. Jeffrey's mind was vivacious, rather than profound; direct, unimaginative, and alert, rather than comprehensive. He seems to have mistaken a zest for external charms for a sympathy with poetical experience. Even his essay on Beauty, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, is commended by his biographer for its graceful ingenuity, and not for sympathetic insight or profound analysis. His flippancy, however pleasant when expended on casual topics, is often intolerable as applied to men of genius. He sees that Joanna Baillie is a "nice old woman," but faintly realizes the positive grandeur of feeling which, like a solemn atmosphere, exhales from Basil and De Montfort; he designates faults in Southey's poems, and recognizes the looming of his gorgeous fancy, as one might point out an agreeable pattern of chintz; he is very charitably disposed towards

"Tommy Campbell," wonders at the "rapidity and facility" of Burns, and thinks, with his own "present fortune and influence," he could have preserved him a long time; he is of opinion that Wordsworth, upon acquaintance, is "not the least lakish, or even in a degree poetical, but rather a hard and sensible worldly sort of a man"; and that Crabbe, "the wretch, has outrageous faults"; he writes dunning letters to Horner, urging him to "do" Malthus or Sismondi, very much as a sea-captain might write to his mate to scrape a deck, or a farmer order his man to hoe a field of potatoes; he praises Dickens's "Notes" on this country, as shallow a book of travels as ever appeared, but does not relish the character of Micawber, one of the best creations of the author; and he indulges in reminiscences of the New York Park and Bloomingdale, without having taken the trouble, during some months' residence in that city, to go up the Hudson. The most creditable of his literary tastes are his admiration of Sir James Mackintosh, and his sensibility to the pathos of such characters as Little Nell and Tom Pinch. Indeed, the "gentle sobs" he confesses, and the hearty appreciation he felt towards the humane novelist, seem to indicate that, with advancing life, his nature mellowed and his sensibilities deepened. A kindness for men of genius, which led him frequently to offer them judicious advice and pecuniary aid, is one of Jeffrey's most excellent traits; and a social enterprise which made his house the centre of intellectual companionship in Edinburgh, and induced habits of genial intercourse among his contemporaries, men of state, letters, and science, is also to be regarded as a public benefit. Nor less frankly should we acknowledge his unsullied honor, refined hospitality, habits of patient industry, and free and often brilliant conversation. But these benign and useful qualities, while they challenge respect and gratitude, and endear the memory of Jeffrey, do not give authority to his principles of literary judgment, or sanction his claim to be the expositor of the highest literature and the deepest truth.

It is difficult to realize that the amiable character depicted in these volumes is the same individual whose critical severity once caused such a flutter in the dovecot of authors; whose opinion was expected with al-

most the trepidation of a judicial sentence, and whose praise and rebuke were deemed, by so large and respectable an audience, as final tests of literary rank. His partial biographer assumes, what, indeed, facts seem greatly to confirm, that his award was usually conscientious, and that he had warmly at heart the best interests of literature as he understood them. Of malice or selfish views there is scarcely any evidence; and his personal feelings towards the very writers he most stringently condemned appear to have been kind. There is a striking contrast between the amenities of taste, good fellowship, domesticity, and rural enjoyment, amid which he lived, and the idea of a ferocious critic so generally identified with his name. It is another and a memorable instance of the want of correspondence, in essential traits, between authorship and character. To have inspired confidence, respect, and affection to the extent visible in his memoirs, among the most gifted and the best men of his day, is ample proof of the merit claimed in his behalf by the friend who describes his career, most of whose inferences are borne out by the collection of letters forming the second volume. Yet even admitting the conclusion drawn from these premises, — that "he was the founder of a new system of criticism, and this a higher one than had ever existed," and that "as an editor and a writer he did as much to improve his country and the world as can almost ever be done by discussion, by a single man," — there is a progressive as well as a retrospective standard, an essential as well as a comparative test, and a degree not less than an extent of insight to which such a writer is amenable, and by which alone he can be philosophically estimated. It is doubtless a most useful and desirable object of criticism to elucidate the art and discover the moral influence of literature; the censor in both these spheres is a requisite minister to social welfare; but they do not cover the whole ground. Genius may transgress an acknowledged law of taste in obedience to a higher law of truth; and the so-called moral of a work may be, and often is, misinterpreted by conventional rules. Comprehensive sympathies, as well as quick perception, recognition of the original, as well as knowledge of the prescriptive, are needful qualities in the critic. Loyalty to intuitive senti-

ment, as well as to external standards, is demanded; and a catholic temper, which embraces with frank cordiality the idiosyncrasies that invariably distinguish original minds, is indispensable to their appreciation. It is not what Lord Jeffrey "rather likes," or what "will never do" in his opinion, that disposes of those appeals to the human soul which the truly gifted utter, and to which mankind respond; and the courteous dogmatism and the jaunty grace with which this famous reviewer sometimes pronounces upon the calibre and the mission of the priests of nature, are, therefore, not only inadmissible, but frequently impertinent. We are occasionally reminded of Charles Lamb's impatience at the literal character of the Scotch mind, and his quaint anecdotes to illustrate it, in Jeffrey's positive rule-and-compass style when discussing the productions of genuine poets. How to enjoy these benefactions is as important a lesson as how to judge them; and it is no less an evidence of discrimination deeply to feel beauties than readily to pick flaws.

H. T. T.

Art. V. — EUROPEAN TRAVEL.*

Mr. Clarke's book has had the "run" which his friends anticipated for it. Its popularity is due to the writer certainly, and not to the subject. Eleven weeks occupied in the ordinary routes, and devoted to the ordinary sights, of European travel, one would say beforehand, could furnish no adequate material for a book, when the number of readers who have been over the ground is likely to be greater than of those who have not. One would say, that a traveller who had only coursed through these accustomed ways could hardly hope to make a readable and salable volume by reporting his observations. The fallacy of such a judgment consists in supposing that the interest of a book of travels depends on the objects seen, and not rather on the

* *Eleven Weeks in Europe, and what may be seen in that Time.* By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 328.

seer. It is not the pictures and the churches, nor yet the rivers and the mountains, that we care to read about, but the reflection of these in genial and original minds. The most interesting travels are those that have the least to say about the very things which we go abroad to see, — such books as Eothen, and the Sentimental Journey. Even in Herodotus, in our school days, it is not the descriptions, but Herodotus himself, that impresses us most. We like Brydone and Beckford and Thümmel better than Burckhardt or Lander. For the same reason, we like travels at home better than travels abroad. No matter how familiar the scenes, if the mind that surveys them be one that interests us on its own account. Let a clever writer describe a journey between this and Washington, and he will make an interesting book, although every reader may be familiar with every mile of the way.

Mr. Clarke is a cultivated man, a thoughtful man, a man of poetic mind; and so he has made a capital book out of very ordinary materials.

We spoke of this work among the literary notices in our last number; but the growing appetite for European travel has moved us to resume the subject. The rush across the water has been greater this summer than at any former season. And, as usual, a good part of the tourists are clergymen. "Travel in the younger sort," says Lord Bacon, "is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience." In American clergymen, we may add, it is a part of their vocation. "In journeyings often," according to apostolic example, it is not for want of opportunity to see the world that they are deficient, as is sometimes alleged, in the knowledge of mankind. The opportunity of seeing the world, — the Old World, — is now enjoyed by all classes and both sexes. Accordingly, an intense desire of seeing is awakened in all. Or perhaps the desire is no more intense than before, but has only become more apparent with extended means of gratification. The eye was ever the most *exigeant* of the senses. A great part of our living consists in seeing. The better part of all our enjoyment, as well as our knowledge, our education, our experience, is derived from that source. The eye is the instrument by which we chiefly lay hold of the world. It is but a small part of

that world that we can grasp with our hands, or appropriate with any other sense. But the eye is lord of all things; it has the entire universe for its heritage, and no rival can disseize it of its boundless estate.

It is the gratification of this imperious and miraculous organ which men seek in travel. An intense desire to see for ourselves what so many have seen, to fix our proper orbs on the things so familiar to our ears, and an obstinate persuasion that with this autopsy a new light and a wondrous satisfaction will be shed abroad in the soul, tempt us to exchange the paradise of our own homes for the manifold discomforts and annoyances of the ship and the road. In vain has a prudent God divided the lands.* Curiosity conquers every bar.

"What went ye out for to see?" There are specialties in travel, as in every thing else. The naturalist has his object, the historian his, the philanthropist his; but the motive which impels the mass is curiosity. Let the traveller put it to himself in the words of "Melibœus old": "*Et quæ tanta fuit* ROMAM *tibi causa videndi?*" "What in the name of reason sent thee to *Rome?*" Not "*Libertas*" certainly, but that inordinate greed of vision which is not content to know by report what others know by sight, — curiosity and fashion. Add to these opportunity, and the splendid facilities of modern navigation, by which the two continents have almost joined hands, and the dividing ocean is no longer "*oceanus dissociabilis.*" Twelve days' passage by steam, and eighteen by sail, have made a trip to Europe as much a matter of course to the Bostonian or New-Yorker, as a trip up the Rhine is to the Londoner, between the months of July and October. You meet a friend in the street, and learn incidentally that, during the three or four weeks in which you have not seen him, he has been doing business in London and Paris. Steamships have placed the German Spas as much within the reach of American fashionables as Saratoga was to the great majority of visitors a quarter of a century ago. A lady who had been in the habit of a yearly visit to the above-named resort was met by a watering acquaintance of some former season. "Well, Madam, do you go to Saratoga, as usual, this

* "Nequicquam Deus prudens," etc. — Horat., Lib. I. Ode 3.

summer?" "No, for the last two years I have been to Ems, and like it so well that I think I shall continue to go there, in preference to Saratoga or Newport"!

But, after all, the crossing of the ocean is a serious matter. We may cross and recross it again and again, and still it is not without a shade of carefulness on our spirits, that we commit ourselves anew to its solemn vastness. That great and wide sea! With wonder and awe we recall its idea in our souls, more to us than any material thing, — more even than the star-studded cope above, the image of infinity. It gives us the feeling of a conscious, self-subsisting, voluntary power. So strong and fathomless and unconfined, — insinuating itself into the bosom of all lands, and commercing with every clime! The Germans call it significantly *Weltmeer*, world-sea. For is it not one and the same flood which washes the roots of the Andes and crouches at the feet of the Alps? which reflects the terrors of Vesuvius and "heaven-daring Teneriffe"? Vertical to the North Star and plumb with the Southern Cross, it nourishes the arctic walrus and the tropic dolphin, — it basks in eternal summer where

"Spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,"

and it lashes the wintry shore

"Of cold and pitiless Labrador."

What we call the continents are but islands in its giant embrace. Look on the map of the earth, and see what a small fraction of it is the part inhabited and habitable by man; how insignificant his doings and how limited his life in the midst of this wide, wild waste, of which his planet is in great part composed!

But thanks to something in man that is greater than his planet, he has made the sea obedient to his dominion. With the calm eye of science he has looked upon its terrors, and they are vanquished. He traverses undaunted its eternal wastes, and makes him a home on its awful bosom. No achievement of human genius so impresses us with the power and dignity of man as the passage of the sea. We think of the early navigators in the infancy of science. What courage, what faith, what endurance, was there! We think of the immortal Genoese, and the

highest conception we can frame of the heroic mind is fulfilled in him. The pursuit of an idea across an untried sea of unknown extent, — the realization of that idea with the imperfect means which that age supplied, in the face of opposition and of death, — strikes us as the greatest deed of all time. It stands alone in the world's history, a tale of successful daring beside which the romance of fiction looks pale and cold.

The passage of the sea, in these days of improved navigation, has lost much of its terrors; and yet, as we have said, it is not without a feeling of awe that we lose our hold of the good, firm earth, and commit ourselves to the unstable waters. A solemn moment is that when the outward-bound stand on the deck and the home ones on the shore, and the distance between them is instantly increasing, while they telegraph to each other their last adieux.

> "Who can guess
> If ever more shall meet those mutual eyes?"

The sun declines, the land fades with it, till at length sun and land disappear together. Home, with all its treasures, lies behind us. The last that is seen of it is the friendly lamp which our careful country holds far into the sea to light us on our course. The morning comes, the voyager finds himself the denizen of a floating world, a few feet in extent, hovering between two infinities. All beyond the little fragment of intelligent being to which he is committed is a moral blank. The great world of humanity exists for him only as a dream and a hope. Day after day, the unfruitful waste; and when at night he lays his head on his pillow, and hears the rude surge knocking impatiently against the wooden walls of his little cell, and feels himself suspended over fathomless abysses, he is glad to seek refuge from the sense of perilousness which will sometimes strike to his heart, in the thought that there also he is bosomed by the Great Presence, and that the dumb and pitiless element on which he floats is pervaded by the stronger element of Deity. A little reflection convinces him that no one condition is more perilous than another, considered in relation to the great issues of the spirit, and that "danger" is precisely the most unphilosophical word in his vocabulary. The fact is, our life at all times, on sea and land, is suspended

over fathomless deeps. What the ship is to the ocean wave, our bodies are to the invisible spirit-world in which we float so fearless and unconscious. There is only a frail wall of flesh between us and the infinite deep. One day that wall shall be battered down, the mysterious element will break through, all its billows and its waves will go over us; and who can guess how long it will be before we come forth again, "out of the belly of hell," into conscious life? And what is our moral life, but a difficult navigation over dire abysses of moral evil and spiritual death? There is a deep within us more Stygian and forlorn, and peopled with uglier monsters, than the cavernous Atlantic. Who knows the capacity of his nature for evil as well as good? Who knows into what "unfathomed gulfs of guile" he might sink, if grace upheld him not?

Life at sea is commonly condemned as a sad, monotonous, dreary existence. But passengers contrive to amuse themselves. Barring sea-sickness, which, with a little resolution, a person in good health will not suffer long, the time passes pleasantly enough, and the days spent at sea are verily not the most wearisome days of one's pilgriming. Talking of sea-sickness, by the way, we have heard it very confidently asserted that this malady was wholly unknown to the ancients, as far as any evidence has come to us from their writings. The assertion is contradicted, we think, by the word *nausea*, whose etymology shows conclusively that this maritime variety of mortal suffering is by no means a modern distinction.

Here is Mr. Clarke's experience of sea life:—

"Our mode of life at sea soon began to arrange itself after a method, and became quite uniform. We would commonly walk the deck before breakfast, having a fine promenade on the upper deck, which was eighty feet long. We had prayers regularly in the cabin after breakfast and after tea, by the captain's invitation. The forenoon we spent in writing our journals, learning French and German travel-talk, studying out with maps and hand-books our route in England and on the Continent, taking Callisthenic (?) exercises on the deck, and in chit-chat; and the time went rapidly away. I usually went into the mizentop in pleasant weather, and staid there till I had studied one or two lessons in Ollendorf's French Teacher. . . . . Our dinner-hour was two. In the afternoon we repeated the occupations of the forenoon, diversified,

perhaps, by a nap. In the evening, having formed an association called the Plymouth Rock Pilgrim Association, we discussed peace questions during two hours, from eight till ten."

He has some sensible remarks on sea language: —

"The same perfect order presides over language at sea. Every thing has its own name, every action a precise phrase by which to express it, which must not be changed for any other. Different things must not only have different names, but names which sound differently, lest one should be mistaken for another. Thus, starboard means right, and larboard left. An officer says, 'Starboard your helm,' when he wants it put to the right. But he never says, 'Larboard your helm,' for in the tumult of a gale one sound might be mistaken for the other. So, when he wants it put to the left, he says, 'Port your helm,' or 'Hard to port.' Sea language is therefore the most definite language in the world; it has no synonymes, and no one can ever use it correctly who has not himself been a sailor and learned it by experience. The blunders of a landsman who tries to use sea-talk are amusing enough. There is a nautical hymn in our hymn-books, beginning, 'Launch your boat, mariner,' which is full of these errors. In the second stanza the mariner is directed to 'Look to the weather-bow,' and the reason assigned is, that 'Breakers are round thee.' The sailor, under these circumstances, would probably think it better to look to the leeward, for there would be very little danger of drifting upon rocks which lay off the weather-bow. He is then directed to 'let fall his plummet' and to 'take a reef in his foresail,' all which may be well enough, though when the ship was among breakers the sailor would probably have something else to do beside casting the lead and taking reefs. But the next direction is quite startling. It is to 'Let the vessel wear.' To 'wear ship' in a heavy gale and among breakers is probably an operation which no one but a nautical poet would think of recommending. Such are the risks of attempting the use of sea language."

We are rather surprised that so philanthropic a man as Mr. Clarke, who goes to Europe to attend a Peace Congress, should not, while rehearsing his sea life, devote a part of a chapter to that meritorious and much-suffering class of our fellow-men, without whom no sea life and no European travel were possible for us. One of the first discoveries which we make on shipboard is, that our floating world, confined as it is, contains within itself a second world entirely distinct from our own; we mean the world of the forecastle. Nowhere is the inequality

of the human condition more strikingly displayed than in a packet-ship, and nowhere are we so forcibly reminded of the price which our privileges cost us. The existence of such a class of men as the sailors before the mast, nurtured and conditioned as we usually find them, is a sad comment on our social economy. Wherever we go, on sea and land, the drudgery of life, the hard work, the painful and dangerous work by which we live, is performed by those who have the smallest share in its profits. Their labor is unnoticed by those who enjoy the product. Who thinks of the poor miner in using the convenient steel? Who, when trimming his evening lamp, remembers with what perils and hardships the familiar luxury that lengthens his days has been obtained? This fair civilization, which contrasts so bravely with the savage state, so beautiful in appearance, so convenient in its uses, so blest in some of its results, rests on a substratum of toil and suffering, of which little is known and little dreamed. We enjoy the blossom, we consume the fruit, unconscious of the bitter root. The commonest article of daily use is too costly, if we add the pains of the producer to its market price. The printed cotton, which costs us a shilling a yard at the shop, has cost more than we can estimate, in body and in soul, to those who have grown and manufactured it, — the slaves of the field and the slaves of the loom. Society, as we know it, is upborne by a host of proletaries, who toil in the deeps beneath our feet, and sow in discomfort and privation what we reap in comfort and ease. Of this class are the seamen. A hard life is theirs, a life of toil and peril, but poorly compensated by the profits of their calling. The voyage which yields a net profit of twenty or fifty thousand dollars to the capitalist, yields but a slender return to those on whose exertions mainly that profit depends. Their meagre gains allow but a slender provision for declining years, if they live to be old, which happens, we believe, more rarely to them than to any other calling. Where their life is not abruptly terminated by the casualties of the sea, — and almost every newspaper we take up contains some notice of a seaman lost overboard in its list of deaths, — where it is not thus shortened, it is prematurely exhausted by hardship and improper living. The sympathy of humanity is claimed

in their behalf. Much has been done in these years to protect their sojourn in port from the moral dangers which so abundantly beset it. It is time that something were done to better their condition afloat, — to relieve the asperities and privations of the forecastle, to disarm the coarse ferocity of captains and mates, and to give to this oppressed people the treatment due to rational souls. With regard to their pecuniary condition, we do not know that that admits of any radical improvement in the present condition of society. Their wages are regulated by principles which are not within the control of philanthropy. The difficulty lies in the general system, and not in this particular case. They must wait the "good time coming," when all that class of labor shall divide more equally with the capitalist the product of their united action, when the hardest toil shall not be the worst compensated, and when those employments which are most irksome in themselves shall not be rendered additionally severe by the social privation and disesteem which accompany them. We can do nothing for them at present, in this regard, but to bear them in kind remembrance; them, and all who occupy that plane of life, all on whom the burden of society is laid, who are charged with the hardest and worst-requited portion of the world's work, the *helots* of the sea and the shore.

The ocean is past, the traveller hastens to plant his foot on the solid land, rejoiced to greet again the face of mother earth at the distance of three thousand miles. And now he enters on a new world, — new by its very age, which distinguishes it so sharply from his own. Instead of the animated look of recent erections, and the energetic, positive colors to which he has been used at home, he encounters the dull, retired hue which centuries of bleaching have effected in tower and town. The grizzled look of antiquity is on all that he sees. And the charm of those lands is their antiquity, along with the sacred associations which that antiquity involves. We agree with Mr. Clarke regarding the *videnda* of European travel: "As for myself, I had made up my mind that what I wished to see in Europe was, in the first place, the Alps of Switzerland; secondly, fine paintings and picture-galleries; and, in the third place, the fine old Cathedrals." To these we should add, for our own part, one

thing more, and that is the PAST, which constitutes an interest in itself, independently of any artistic value in the monuments which represent it. Our readers will excuse the solecism of which we seem to be guilty when we talk of seeing the Past. We mean, of course, the celebrated localities of history, — the monuments of departed greatness, — the birth-places, abodes, and burial-places of Genius, — all places and objects distinguished by those historical and biographical associations which make the lands of the elder continent venerable in our estimation. There is the battle-field of Time. There the chief acts in the drama of history were enacted, in triumph and in tears. There civilization gained its great conquests over savage nature. Two thousand years of humanity are ploughed into the soil. The dust of our fathers is a part of the ground we tread. Not a mountain lifts its head unsung, not a river but whispers as it flows some tale of the olden time. Every locality is associated with some venerable name, or memorized by some deed of renown.

We enter the awful Abbey, whose groined aisles and sequestered chapels are populous with buried heroes and kings. There successive dynasties, from age to age, were invested with the ensigns of royalty, and there they slumber together in peace, who in life were so widely sundered, — the Saxon and the Norman, York and Lancaster, the Tudor and the Stuart. We descend into the crypts of the Capuchins, where imperial Austria guards her mighty dead. There, in splendid sarcophagi of silver and bronze, conspicuous among which are those of Maria Theresa and the Duke of Reichstadt, repose the lordly line of the Hapsburg. Feudal life is brought near in the relics which survive of that iron time. Here from its rocky perch the gray tower of the Raugraf frowns on the river that winds through the valley. There droops the banner which waved in the van of the Crusaders. The stalwart knight, who made the earth tremble with the force of his onslaught, is figured in the burnished armor which hangs an idle ornament in the hall of some remote descendant. We survey the treasury which contains the memorials of the Western Empire, where a ring of relics, commencing with the coronation-robes of Charlemagne and ending with those of Napo-

leon, spans a cycle of a thousand years. Still ascending the stream of time, we pursue the Past into its very citadel, where Tradition sits throned among the ivied arches of the Flavian Amphitheatre, and the fragment columns of the Campo Vaccino.

With tenderer interest we call up before us the great personalities of old and later time. Reverently we visit the haunts of genius by the Avon, and the Thames, and the Ilm. We pay our homage to the honored dust of Santa Croce. Wherever we go, we trace with pious assiduity the footsteps and the graves of the gifted and the wise, who have stretched an intellectual firmament over this business world, and set their great, beaming thoughts in it, like sun and stars, to light up our little life. It is beautiful, the interest which particular spots derive from association with remarkable men, which draws pilgrims from the ends of the earth to gaze on a heap of stones or an empty cell, — as if we believed that something of their personality still cleaved to such places, as if we expected to be brought nearer to them when standing where they stood. It is a proof of our spiritual nature, that a mere idea can give such value to inanimate things. We believe in something which cannot be seen or touched; we are capable of being strongly moved by it. It is a proof of our spiritual nature, that a great and good man can give a permanent interest to the localities connected with his history, and cause them to be sought out with an interest that increases as that history recedes in the distance of time.

Three of Mr. Clarke's "Eleven Weeks" were spent in Switzerland, where the usual excursions were made and the usual points of interest examined, under favorable circumstances of weather and company. The weather in Switzerland is an important circumstance. Rains abound in those mountainous regions, and a week of sunshine is a special favor. Travellers are sometimes obliged to wait many days before they can accomplish an intended excursion; and, if pressed for time, to abandon it altogether. Our friend was singularly fortunate in this regard; and, indeed, the month of September, which was his month for Switzerland, is usually a favorable season. Natural scenery is more easily appreciated by all classes than works of art, but more difficult to de-

scribe. Mr. Clarke does not often attempt direct description, but he portrays in vivid colors the effect of the landscape on the mind and heart.

"One thing which struck me frequently, while among these mountains, was the remarkable way in which they separate one from all familiar thoughts and things. They put a great gulf between the mind and all its accustomed objects of contemplation; and in this way give a sense of entire repose to the faculties. The soul is wholly at peace, — resting from its usual cares, anxieties, and interests. In the very heart of Europe, I cared no longer for European affairs. There seemed to be nothing near me but nature; I was in her element. . . . . So, then, the life of the world, I thought, may roll on as it will; I am taken for once out of its stream; neither my own business nor the world's history affects me now. I am calmed by these mountains, I am cooled by these glaciers. These torrents, pouring free, and rushing in headlong course down the ravines, attract me more than the course of revolutions. In this clear Alpine air, the distant mountains seem close at hand, but the nearest social facts far away. The atmosphere of the hills is a telescope, with which we look at nature through the eye-piece, but at the world through the object-glass. One comes much nearer, the other recedes to an illimitable distance."

And yet, sequestered as we seem, in such regions, from the importunities of life, the importunities of the heart pursue us still. Covetousness changes its object, but not its mind, in passing from the busy world to the still seclusion of the mountain range. It forgets worldly goods and fame, and begins to affect the favored lot of the mountaineer, so secluded and calm, reposing on the bosom of Nature and nourished by her beauty. We fancy that life, with such aspects and conditions, cannot choose but flow smoothly and happily. Mr. Clarke thinks, while looking at Mount Niessen, "that there could scarcely be a greater luxury than to live in the constant presence of such a mountain." We espy, in passing, some picturesque cottage, nestling at the foot of a rock commanding a wide-spread landscape, and looking the very type of calm enjoyment; and we sigh for its repose, and think what happiness, there to "set up our everlasting rest,"

> "And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars
> From this world-wearied flesh";

forgetting that contentment is not a real estate, but a

personal one, and disquietude not a local disease, but a constitutional one. That dear poet of the mountains and the lakes, in whom, as in no other of his tribe, their subtlest attractions have found a voice and an interpreter, has not overlooked this illusion, nor failed to rebuke it.

> "The lovely cottage in the guardian nook
> Hath stirred thee deeply; with its own dear brook,
> Its own small pasture, almost its own sky!
> But covet not the abode. O, do not sigh
> As many do, repining while they look;
> Nor vainly wish to tear from Nature's book
> That blissful leaf with harsh impiety.
> Think what the house would be if it were thine,
> Even thine, though few thy wants! . . . . .
> Yea, all that now enchants thee, from the day
> On which it should be touched, would change and melt away!"

On one point, the unprepared traveller in Switzerland experiences a grievous disappointment. We mean the character and manners of the people. If he has formed his notion of the Swiss from literature and history, he soon finds that the Swiss so characterized exist at present in literature and history only. The Swiss whom he meets are quite another generation. With the exception of here and there an ideal maiden, with slashed bodice and skirt succinct, and manners frank and open as the day, who seems to have stepped out of a book to restore the old illusion, the people are as shrewd and sophisticated and mercenary and exacting as any lowlanders in Europe.

> "I thought to find the patriots
> In whom the stock of freedom roots.
> Woe is me for my hope's downfall!
> Lord! is yon squalid peasant all
> That this proud nursery could breed
> For God's vicegerency and stead?"

The antique simplicity of manner, the "usages of pristine mould," which we associate with the mountaineer, — with the Swiss mountaineer above all, — have been effaced by the constant friction of the fashionable, travelling world, which, since the wars of Napoleon, has flooded this land. The traveller must leave Switzerland proper, and pass eastward of the Cantons, into the Tyrol, if he would see the ideal of the Swiss character realized. There he may still find that combination of mountain scenery with mountain manners, which the Western Alps no longer exhibit.

The chapters devoted to Switzerland are, in our opinion, the best part of Mr. Clarke's book. A good deal of poetic philosophy and a good deal of poetic humor the shining peaks and the voiceful waters have waked up in him. Of the humor, here is a rich specimen: —

"We were glad [in Berne] to see again our old acquaintance, the Aar, which, having long ago left its glacier source in the Peak of Storms, and flowed through many a mountain valley, — having thundered down a dreadful precipice at Handeck, and thought it all fine sport, — having loitered in Lake Brienz, enchanted with its beauty, and then (to make up for lost time) having run hastily through half a dozen streets of Unterseen, not stopping a moment in Lake Thun to admire the pyramid of Niessen, — now goes tranquilly and gravely on, winding about Berne, and carefully picking its way among the stones. One would think it had never known such wild sport at all, and would be afraid of a fall of six feet high. Ah! roguish river, you cannot cheat us with your pretended gravity. Did we not see you at all your mad sport in the Grimsel; did we not walk by your side for many a long mile, when you would not be still for a single rod, but must run and tumble and foam all the way? Were we not by when at last you found a playmate, and both of you leaped together pellmell down that dreadful chasm, tumbling over each other as though you were merely rolling down a sunny bank? We saw all that, most demure of streams; we saw how glad you were to get away from your stern mother, the glacier, and your dark father, the Peak of Storms; a gentleman and lady of the old school they, who maintain grave state from age to age, quite careless of the opinions of Messrs. Agassiz and Dessaure, but much bemoaning the changes of modern times, and the misbehavior of their riotous children, the mountain streams."

To works of art, wherever he goes, to pictures and churches especially, our tourist gives diligent and loving heed. We are glad to reperuse the old wonders through his thoughtful eyes. Italy he did not visit. That was out of the question in a tour of three months. Dresden also, which might have been compassed, unhappily did not come within his scope. But of England's pictorial treasures, and particularly of modern English paintings, — assisted herein by an English friend, a man of wealth and taste, himself a collector and a friend of Turner, — he saw more than most Americans find means or inclination to inspect. He modestly disclaims the connoisseur, but his modesty must not take offence when we say, that

we have far more confidence in his opinion than we have in that of many who, on the strength of a little manual dexterity, assume to be painters, and send squares of figured canvas to the annual exhibitions, confounding the inexperienced, and afflicting sensitive nerves with their boisterous coloring. Our friend has the painter's feeling, if not the painter's hand; and the critic's eye, if not the critic's tongue. He has breathed, in his own family, in the society of his accomplished sister, a pupil of Washington Allston, an atmosphere of art which qualified him for enjoying the works of the old masters, and which qualifies him for giving a good account of his enjoyment. He does not, like some critics, attempt to prove his sagacity by detecting faults, but is willing to accept the general voice in behalf of great works.

"Here are great paintings declared to stand at the summit of art by the judgment of mankind. Let us have faith that this is so. Let us look at them expecting to see something beautiful, and we shall find it. They were not painted for connoisseurs, but for mankind. . . . . Have faith. Believe that what the testimony of mankind through many centuries declares to be great is really great, though you cannot at first discover its grandeur or beauty. Humility, modesty, faith, hope, and love are as essential in the study of art as in the study of nature or revelation. That which pleases immediately is not apt to give deep or permanent satisfaction. But that beauty which slowly dawns upon the mind, like that truth which seems at first paradoxical or unnatural, is oftenest that which lifts us out of ourselves into a higher world than we before knew."

He enjoyed, as we hinted, unusual facilities for becoming acquainted with modern English paintings, through the agency of an English friend secured to him on the Continent. Of these, it seems, Turner's, by common agreement, stand immeasurably first. We know nothing of Turner critically, except through Ruskin, whose superlative manner, and whose depreciation of established names, so unedifying in a critic of twenty-three years, have not prepossessed us in favor of his idol. We acknowledge the extraordinary power of this writer in developing principles, we feel the force of his eloquence, and we appreciate his profound sense of the beautiful in nature, but we greatly mistrust his criticisms. They are mostly condemnatory, when he speaks of the old mas-

ters. We cannot understand his extravagant praise of Tintoretto from our own experience, nor is it borne out by the judgment of the two and a half centuries which have passed since his death. In landscape painting, he claims for modern English painters a great superiority over all the works of the elder schools. We are no judges of these matters, and are not ashamed to avow a Bœotian preference for the Flemish landscapists, Ruysdael, Wouvermans, Berghem, &c., — to say nothing of Claude or Salvator Rosa, — over all the English paintings we have yet seen.

Mr. Clarke's impression of the English school is not very favorable.

"I have deferred until now expressing an opinion of the English school of painting; and I would now merely give my own impression, which may be worth nothing at all. I certainly feel inadequate to judge these pictures. They may have great merits which I am unable to understand. I can only say that I wished to enjoy them, and was sorry that I could not. I found them unmeaning and empty. With the exception of Turner, and perhaps Landseer and Leslie, they indicate neither invention nor creative power. They were simply copies of commonplace scenes and transactions. They were essentially prosaic. The subjects are dogs drinking, people coming from the fair, parish choristers, a child in a cradle, children sailing a toy-ship or playing with a kitten, a girl trying on a wedding-gown, and the like. In the large pictures there was usually an utter want of unity in the design. Several transactions going on at once, with nothing to bind them together into a whole. These '*pieces de genre*,' or scenes in every-day life, are the chief. The landscapes have brilliancy and depth of color, but also wanting unity have no soul. . . . . This, to me, is the fault of English landscapes, that they are not suggestive, and therefore not picturesque."

But England has other art-treasures than the works of her modern landscape-painters. She has some choice gems of the old masters, she has her share of Murillos and Vandycks; and in sculpture she has the Elgin Marbles, — an exhibition which no gallery in Europe, not even the Vatican or the Capitol, can match for the purest kind of artistic effect.

Works of art we consider to be the only solid advantage which those countries possess over ours. These are the real, inestimable treasures, in virtue of which those

lands are rich with all their pauperism, their social inequalities and oppressions; and for want of which we are poor with all our prosperity, and all our advantages, geographical and political. These are things which we have not, perhaps may never have, in any thing like the perfection and abundance of the Old World. For they are things which money cannot command, and which mere industry cannot produce. The genius which created them is a special gift of God to particular periods and particular men, a spirit which bloweth where it listeth, and cannot be made to blow where it listeth not. The human intellect bears different fruit in different periods and climes. The Phidian and Praxitelean marbles were the fruit which it bore in the golden age of Athens. Gothic minsters were the fruit it bore in the feudal ages, and the masterpieces of pictorial art were the fruit it bore in the twilight dawn of modern history. It is doubtful if the same fruit will ever again be produced in the same perfection. The genius of this age tends to mechanical inventions, quite as wonderful in their way, and unquestionably more important in their influence on the social condition of man. Let us be thankful for these inventions, which have contributed so much to the progress and well-being of society. But let us also confess that they cannot supply the place of those other productions which we designate by the term Art.

To us, in this country, genius is known, for the most part, only through the medium of books, which require culture to make them felt and understood. Works of art have this advantage, that they address themselves immediately to the senses. The poorest citizen in the capitals of Europe may have daily communion with genius in this kind. A noble edifice, for example, like the cathedral at Antwerp, or the Duomo at Milan, is public property. It cannot be hid; there it stands in its grandeur and beauty. All eyes may read its significant lines, all hearts may feel the mysterious power of its harmony and grace. So, too, the poorest citizen of those cities has constant access to the miracles of sculpture and painting. They belong to him, as well as to the state. Those old masters wrought for him, as well as for the princes who employed them. The sunny cheer of Titian, the ethereal grace of Guido, the massive strength

of Buonarotti, the feminine tenderness of Correggio, the profound humanity of Murillo, the divine idealism of Raffaelle, are his happy heritage. This gospel, too, was preached, and preaches, to the poor.

These works, we said, are proper to the age which produced them, and will not grow in the soil of this time. That was an age when men felt profoundly the truths of the spirit, and when the popular mind believed and aspired as it does not now believe and aspire. We do not mean that men were better then than now, or even more Christian, but only that they had more inwardness and fervor. Christianity, in our time, has grown more ethical, and the human intellect more practical. Power-looms and steam-engines have taken the place of minsters and madonnas. Be it so; these, too, are good; we would not exchange them for new triumphs of the easel, nor our own date for any other position in time. Every age is good in its order, and produces good. Each has its meaning and mission in the world, and each its peculiar fruit. Temples and statues and paintings are glorious creations; but the spirit which created them is greater than they. That spirit still lives and works, as active now as at any former period. It is not an accident of time, but an indestructible element of human nature. It may not produce the same things now as formerly, nor hereafter as now, but produce it must, for its being is production. Ever new births of the spirit there will be from age to age; for life, and not death, birth, and not extinction, is the order of God. There is no such thing as eternal desolation. That which seems to perish becomes the occasion and condition of new creations; the present is born of the past;

> "And ever amid old decay
> The greenest mosses spring."

Nothing in the ruins of ancient Rome is more impressive than the rich vegetation with which nature has clothed those venerable piles, redeeming their decays, and giving them a glad resurrection in the fresh green of the vegetable world. What man abandons, she adopts; what man neglects, she improves; where time or violence has made a breach, she hastens to dress the ghastly wound with her clinging greenery, and repairs with fresh

births the ravages of age. The wild-flower nodding from the walls of the Coliseum is consolation for the wreck of that edifice, symbolizing, as it does, the ever-living, new-creating spirit which works in human things.

All life has its root in the grave. A seed-grain blown by the wind is dropped in a crevice of some mouldering tower where vegetation seems impossible, but it vegetates nevertheless. Rain from heaven comes to it in its sterile lodge; the niggard rock relents and yields a little earth. By and by, a tender plant is seen lifting its head above the stones, and it blossoms into beauty, and it towers into strength; it becomes a tree, and protects, in its turn, with outstretched arm, the ruin which sheltered its infancy. The spiritual life, in like manner, plants itself in a body of death. New institutions and new arts arise out of the old, and begin to blossom before the old are extinct.

Here, then, we rest our hope for human culture in general, in all time to come, and our hope for that country in particular which gave birth to the masterpieces of pictorial art. The political regeneration of Italy is a problem which occupies other statesmen than her own, and is worthy to occupy the civilized world. It is one which must interest the lovers of learning and art in all lands. A country which can still produce such men as D'Azeglio and Mazzini surely deserves a better fate than to be a bone of contention for those unclean birds, the eagles of Austria and France. But these are matters which quite transcend our scope. And so we take our leave of Mr. Clarke, grateful for his genial company and discreet guidance through scenes of so much interest, and always ready to attend him in any future journeyings he may have to record.

F. H. H.

Art. VI. — DR. FROTHINGHAM'S SERMONS.*

As we opened this welcome book with pleasant anticipations, a feeling of sadness detained us an instant at the title-page when the eye fell on the author's name for the first time without the familiar pastoral designation with which it has been so long associated. Neither preface nor note tells the world what we all know so well, and what his old parishioners delight to remember, that these Sermons were preached to the First Church in Boston by one who ministered to it faithfully and honorably for more than thirty years.

But those who listened, with charmed ears, to the choice sentences here perpetuated, when they fell from the pulpit in the quiet hour of worship, and who have since wrought their beauty into their own thoughts, and treasured their wisdom in their own characters, will see on every page of this volume some memento of that sacred connection of which there is no formal record, and will feel continually, as they read, throbs of that cherished personal attachment to which there is no explicit reference. And unless we greatly mistake their feelings, the perusal of these Sermons, while it will bring some compensation for the silence of their preacher's voice in the temple, will at the same time revive and heighten their regrets by reminding them of the value of the instructions which they can no longer hear.

The title of the book, in the choice of which the author has displayed a skill peculiar to himself, sufficiently explains its plan, — which strikes us as one of the happiest that could have been devised for the construction of an interesting and useful volume of sermons, — admitting, as it does, of a pleasing succession and variety of subjects, together with a certain inartificial unity. In one respect, however, it may have had an unfavorable effect upon the book; for though it guided and assisted the writer in the difficult task of making a selection, it at the same time greatly restricted him in his choice. Such a restriction would have been almost fatal to a writer less

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* *Sermons, in the Order of a Twelvemonth.* By N. L. Frothingham. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 363.

able, equal, and prolific. In order to carry it out, Dr. Frothingham must necessarily pass by many discourses whose intrinsic merits would have recommended them for publication. He could not, as would have been possible on some other plan, cull out of the large piles of his manuscripts only the very choicest specimens. He could not select the sermons most likely to affect powerfully the heart and awaken religious life. Nor was he permitted to search for the most able and thorough discussions which his stores might furnish of the great doctrines of the Gospel. He had chosen, and he must adhere to, a less ambitious purpose, — but not less honorable to a wise mind and Christian heart, and not without the sanction and sympathy of some of the most devout and beautiful writers of the Church, — he had chosen to follow, but with no constrained step, the beautiful circuit of the seasons, and to recognize, with no punctilious conformity, the order of the Christian year. This will account for the omission of many sermons which are remembered as having been peculiarly impressive in the delivery, and which some will be disappointed not to find in this collection.

A more popular and brilliant volume might have been made had the writer allowed himself greater liberty of selection, but not, we think, one more certain to be, on intimate acquaintance, permanently satisfactory and profitable. We say *permanently*, because this book of sermons is one of that small and select library which is destined to endure. Its claim to admission into that honored class is clear. Inferior to some that belong to it in logical power, in emotional earnestness, in metaphysical depth, in theological skill, in evangelical fervor, and in oratorical splendor, it shares with the best some of their highest merits, while in certain points of excellence it is surpassed by none. It shows the hand of a master. It is written to last. It will bear examination, and reward it. There is no careless or unskilful work to be detected, from beginning to end. The conception is often original, the execution always fine. The materials are choice, — selected with nice discrimination from the stores of a richly furnished memory, from the manifold and beautiful contributions of a brilliant imagination, from the well-considered results of a studious observation,

from the wise opinions of a healthy understanding, from the clear decisions of a pure moral judgment, the calm convictions of a rational faith, and the elevated sentiments of a sober and unaffected piety. And these materials are arranged and wrought together with no ordinary skill. There is no parade of learning, but every reader infers a deep and wide background of extensive reading and exact scholarship. So far are these Sermons from every thing like display of erudition, that the constant wonder is how it was possible for a mind, evidently so richly stored, to have kept so much in reserve, — how a writer with such a wealth of lore at his command could have been so unambitious and chary in its use. Such self-restraint in an author is as rare as it is honorable. It shows a severity of taste only equalled by his modesty. But though there is no display of learning, it saturates every sentence and enriches every line, imparting to the whole that choice and refined relish which the most cultivated readers so highly prize. Incidental and delicate classical allusions abound on every page, — sometimes contained in a single memorial word, sometimes in an exquisite turn of phrase, sometimes in a graceful metaphor, and sometimes conveyed by a suggestive touch so fine that the most critical eye can hardly discover the secret of the effect.

The style is as much distinguished as that of any modern writer in the same department of literature, or even more so by the rare and fine quality, or rather combination of qualities, which rhetoricians have named terseness, — an epithet so seldom applied with justice, or at least without qualification. It is clean, bright, neat, and elegant. It is polished, but not to a smooth and uniform surface, like silver that has been rubbed, but like the new coin from the mint, or the medal fresh from the engraver, with its legend sharp and clear. We should be glad to grace our pages with several specimens that would illustrate this virtue of the style, though those who have read the volume cannot have failed to recognize it. It is most conspicuous, we think, in the sermons entitled, "The Flying Roll, or the Bible as a Phenomenon," "Autumn, or the Diminutions of Life," and "The Wonderful Works of God's Goodness." The first-named is, as a whole, one of the most faultless pieces of rhetoric, to say nothing

of it in other respects, that we have seen. It has as perfect a rhythm as is compatible with prose. How difficult would it be found to match from any modern sermons the following paragraph, for correctness and purity of style, easy dignity, elegant neatness, or musical movement! Yet there are so many equal to it in the discourse from which we quote, and the others to which we have referred, that we have hesitated not a little whether or not we should give the preference to this.

"Since faithful Abraham came out from Chaldea and its idolatry, or the Hebrew deliverer brought the tribes out from Egyptian bondage, since David sat on the throne of Jerusalem, or even since the later prophets bewailed the exile of their people, what desolations have succeeded each other over the earth! Vast tribes and strong nations have risen to renown and passed away into silence. Founders of states have not secured so much as the name of what they founded. Dispensers of religion have left neither a priest for their successor nor a shrine for their monument. Oracles of wisdom have grown forgotten as well as dumb. . . . . Genius and learning have gone down into the dust, and there is not the finger-track of an inscription upon it for their posterity to read. Whole literatures have disappeared, their tongues having ceased and their characters become illegible, or blotted entirely out. But here is writing, from many hands, and in a long series of instructions, dating as far back as the school-lessons of human improvement. It has defied time. It has repelled decay. It has stood the same through all revolutions, immortal in the midst of ruins, — surviving the nation that composed it, surviving the language in which it was composed. The linen, or the parchment, or whatever frail material it was confided to, held fast its trust, while brazen trophies were melted down and marble columns were pulverized. The temple of the Lord protected its archives; though its huge stones were unable to hold themselves together, and its sacred vessels served at last but for the ornaments of a heathen triumph." — pp. 155, 156.

Our author, like "Old Wisdom," shows a peculiar fondness for symbols and analogies. The latter he uses with unequalled skill. Few would discover them where they so easily appear to him. Few would venture to trace them so minutely, or to follow them out so far; and fewer still but would utterly fail if they were to make the attempt. "The Well of Sychar," a beautiful and instructive sermon, is one of those most strongly marked with this peculiarity. A great deal of its interest is de-

pendent upon this very feature. The ingenuity displayed in managing it *surprises*, as much as the gracefulness with which it is handled *pleases*, the reader; while if the grace were less, the ingenuity would be irksome. Nothing but the finest taste in combination with the rarest artistic power would have enabled the preacher to execute so difficult a task as this sermon laid upon him, to the satisfaction of a cultivated auditor. The style is often epigrammatic, and sometimes antithetical. Many of the sentences take the form which wisdom naturally gives to its most valuable thoughts. They are fine proverbs; like drops of pure gold, precious and easily carried; like fair round pearls, that may be strung and worn about the neck; like gems cut with choice mottoes, that men would set in their seals and signet-rings. Here are a few that we have gathered from the many that are strewed through the book. We take them at random from our collection. "Faith will read to us its mysteries when we have opened to it our hearts." "There is no such revealer as love." "When the spirit touches the letter of religion, the lesson becomes a sentiment." "Send out your piece of silver into the world's free commerce, and the rusty solitary shall become a glittering host." "Laudable actions never stand alone. They go from eye to eye and from heart to heart, creating fresh copies of their immortal worth." "A gold cup will not recommend a bitter potion." "Tapestry and the eider's down have made no treaty with repose." These were separate; but here they come in clusters: "Our thoughts can neither be arrested nor taxed. They need no bridge, and are stopped by no gate. They spread the feast without price. They open the spectacle without ticket. They take possession without leave. There glitters for them the airy wealth that no labor strove after, and no care need watch."

In no particular, perhaps, is Dr. Frothingham's superior skill as a writer more conspicuous than in the grace and variety of his introductions. In these he follows no conventional rules, and has fallen into no beaten track. He is never stiff or formal. He never encumbers his discourse at the threshold. He never makes it uninviting at the entrance by tedious preambles. He never stops you till you have gone over a long and ostentatious pro-

gramme of what he has prepared for your instruction, or takes the edge from your curiosity by reading to you a complete plan of what he intends to prove. He never bungles in joining text to sermon, even in cases where it is most difficult. If there is a natural connection, he does not make it appear artificial; and if it is wholly artificial, he almost makes it appear natural. No text is too hard or dry for his advantageous use. However far off it may seem, however barren of sentiment, principle, or practical virtue, he has only to wave his wand, and lo! it is near, and beautiful, and quick with truth.

This power is peculiarly valuable to one who has such a well-known partiality to singular texts. There are several of these in the volume before us that were probably never used before, and are not likely to be again, — such, for example, as "Forty stripes save one"; "Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire"; "Two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof." For such an unusual selection, which in some preachers would be chargeable to affectation, and in others to eccentricity, no one at all acquainted with our author, or who attentively reads his book, would suspect any other than a serious and sensible reason. But the true reason he has himself assigned in the exordium of one of the discourses. "Your attention has doubtless been caught," he says, "and your curiosity has perhaps been awakened, by the singularity of the punishment here described" ("forty stripes save one"). "The text is singular, and on that account inviting. I have seldom met with a passage of Scripture that surprised or perplexed one at the first reading, which did not reward a closer inspection, — which did not disclose some principle that might be laid up with advantage in the mind." If he had avowed no other motive than merely to catch attention and awaken curiosity, — desirable as such a result may be in order to gain a hearing for sacred lessons, whose weight and serious importance are not always a passport to the interest of men, — some might have questioned the propriety of employing such means for such an end. But when he declares that his main object is to disclose, for the advantage of men, the deep and precious meaning that lies covered and useless under obscure and singular texts, every one must approve the

purpose, especially when he sees how successfully and admirably it is accomplished. Indeed, the difference is broad, and very conspicuous at first sight, between such a serious and reverential use of strange texts as distinguishes our author, and all those modes of dealing with the language of Holy Writ which a correct taste disapproves or a devout heart condemns, — whether it be the conceited, which is so ridiculous, or the flippant, which is so offensive, or the waggish, which is so disgusting.

Dr. Frothingham excels in descriptive eloquence. We could wish that the volume before us contained more examples of his power in this respect, those that are found in it are so delightful. Whenever he paints a picture, it is a gem. We stop to admire it, and turn back to it again. Whenever he gives scenery to his subject, we are charmed. A few simple master-strokes bring vividly before us the landscape of the sacred story he is telling, or give life-like shape and expression to the historical person he would describe, or clothe with the distinctness of reality the creations of his imagination. Look at this picture.

"It was early morning upon the Sea of Galilee. Two fishing-boats were drawn up upon the beach. They had been out all night on the waters, and returned empty. The fishermen had left them; and, exchanging one unsuccessful labor for another, that only reminded them of their want of success, they were busy in looking to their nets, that required the same attention as if they had been cast gainfully. These men, so humbly and wearily employed, were two pairs of brothers, who were destined to enjoy a rank above that of princes, a privilege beyond that of any others of the children of men; who were to write their names foremost in the most wonderful page of the world's history, and to exert an influence upon all after times. There was Simon, who had not yet earned the title that he was for ever to be known by; and John, the beloved disciple, as his still better title was to be; and James, their inseparable companion in the glory that was to follow, as he was now the partner of their lowly trade and its poor earnings.

"The solitude of that shore was suddenly broken by the coming of a great multitude. They were surrounding and even pressing upon the Teacher from God, who at so early an hour was abroad upon his mighty errand. He advanced directly towards those simple men; he who was to change them utterly in calling and heart, and turn the sphere of their activity from that

dull lake to the wide circle of the nations. He addressed himself first to Simon, singling him out from the rest and speaking to him only. He entered into his skiff, bidding him follow and put out a little from the land. He then sat down on the slender planks of the vessel, ... and there, from that unsteady pulpit, he proclaimed his immortal word." — pp. 186, 187.

We make no apology to our readers for presenting them with one other example of our author's power of description, which appears to us magnificent. If any have met with it in the volume, they will not have become weary of regarding it, and if any see it here for the first time, it will not be for the last. We transcribe from Sermon XXX.

"In the Psalm from which the text is taken, the sacred poet describes under four distinct figures the loving-kindness, of which he would impress the memory upon the minds of his people. They may be regarded as so many pictures of the heavenly interposition in behalf of needy men. He first brings before us the form of a perplexed traveller, whose way, which he has lost, lies through a wilderness. No sign of human habitation is near. No hospitable light streams towards him from ever so far. No sound of man's contriving, or of those animals that mark the neighborhood of man, can be caught by his most eager listening. He is hungry, and what shall feed him in that wild place? He is thirsty, and there is no stream at hand. His heart is growing as faint as his limbs are; when he bethinks himself to call upon that Guide, whose presence is in the solitude, and whose step is in the pathless waste; and immediately his course is directed, his strength is renewed, his spirit revives, his journey is prosperously ended, the dreary prospect of sands and thickets is exchanged for the friendly roofs of a city of refuge.

"The scene is now altered from the long tract of unknown ground, and the too boundless expanse of the sky, to the confinement of a dungeon. Instead of a man lost amidst too great a liberty, not knowing which way to turn, and foot-sore with his wanderings already, we have before us a chained prisoner, who can scarcely shift his painful position from side to side. He does not even stand in the erect posture of his race, nor is he able to fix his eyes upon the heavens that are the shining canopy of the world; but he sits in darkness and a deathly shadow, 'bound' — as the beautiful phrase of the Scripture runs — 'in affliction and iron.' He would envy any fatigue of strained limbs, the ability to be astray, the chance to be covered up by the free winds with the movable columns of the desert. But

he sees no means of release, no prospect of transfer, but from his narrow cell to a narrower one yet. Then he remembers that Holy Power, whose it is to enlarge as well as to narrow, and who giveth deliverance to the captive ; and at once the prison-walls vanish, the fetters drop from him, he is restored to the cheerful sunlight and the freedom of action and the society of his kind.

" We are next introduced to another kind of apartment, spacious it may well be and richly provided, but still, with ever so much splendor, only a different jail. There lies in it a pining invalid. His bonds are maladies, — that hold him fast though nothing but the loosest and lightest garments may be wrapped around him. While he is shut up there, from the light perhaps, from the open world certainly, he is on the rack, as well as in confinement. Pain is added to disability. There is a sick loathing of every usual recreation, and of the delicacies that are the farthest brought. He, too, is under sentence of death ; — not by an outward decree, but by an inward warning. He feels his vital powers decaying. His flesh fails, and his heart also. In spite of remedies he is growing worse. The help of men is exhausted. Nowhere else is the impotence of the most they can do more affectingly displayed. Their science can work nothing. Their learning can teach nothing. Their accounts of what the well and strong are doing interest him not at all. Their silver and gold can pay no ransom for him. Then he lifts up his eyes from that uneasy couch, and prays to Him, in whose hand is the breath of every creature, who smiteth and maketh whole, and can bring back the spirit from the very gates of the grave ; — and while he is yet speaking, the fever-flame goes down, the wasting distemper is arrested, the sore hurts receive balm, the sinking languor is strangely refreshed, and he shall rise and walk and return again to the pleasant places that were on the point of beholding him no more for ever.

" Once more the scene is shifted. There is a storm at sea. A ship is tossed upon the waves, ' mounting up to the heavens, and going down again to the depths.' The rudest spot upon the earth's firm surface would seem a blessed retreat from that vessel's pitching deck and the curl of the foaming waters. But no such spot is in sight, or it is in sight only as a new and chief peril, as she is driven to founder upon it. We are near enough to see the mariner in this hour of terror. He reels with the staggering plank that bears him. He is bewildered with the dash of the ceaseless surges. He has no further resources to apply. There is no further counsel to give or take. He has abandoned all struggle with the tempest. Now come the thoughts of home upon his heart, — the home that he shall not see again, — where

the blast that is so merciless to him is only whirling a few leaves from the widowed trees, or moaning in the safe chimney, and where his friends are celebrating their Thanksgiving, perhaps, for the fruit of the innocent and sweet fields which was gathered in at its season. Upon this thought, connected with the best sympathies of his nature, and blessings of his life, rises his devotion; and he implores the aid of 'the Lord on high, mightier than the noise of many waters,' 'who bindeth the deep in a garment' and 'gathereth the wind in his fists,' and 'who alone treadeth upon the waves of the sea'; and instantly the wind changes or lulls, and the turbid skies brighten again with the sun, and the ocean falls back into repose. So is the storm a calm, and he who was beaten with it is brought in safety 'to his desired haven.'" — pp. 332 – 336.

We have thus briefly noticed some of the principal and most characteristic features of the book before us, considered particularly in a literary point of view. It has other merits, which are naturally looked for in the sermon, and the absence of which would be fatal to its success, — such as must inspire its eloquence, or it will be powerless, and give life to its beauty, or it will be barren.

It is lustrous with the clear, bright, penetrating light of a pure and high Christian morality. It is pervaded by that pure, searching, solid tone of counsel and judgment which can be imparted to the speech of man only by a hearty love of God's law, by a calm and profound meditation upon his statutes, day and night, by a patient and venerating study of every virtue, by the dutiful experience of an upright life and a faithful and constant "exercise of one's self," like the noblest of preachers, "to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man."

But notwithstanding the strictness and loftiness of its morality, there is not a breath of hardness or ungentleness towards man from the first sentence to the last. Sin is despised, but humanity pitied. Wickedness is spurned with the heel, but its victim helped by the hand. No quarter is given to vice, but all encouragement is given to him who would leave it. Sad and shocked at the evil that is in the world, the preacher is never blind to the intermingling good, or hopeless of its ultimate victory. The gentleness of the Good Shepherd suffuses the prophet's face even when he proclaims the holy law,

and the tenderness of the Redeemer lingers on his lips even while they are rebuking sin. For its humane, compassionate, encouraging tone we take this book to our heart. It is genial to us as the friendly voice of one who loves his fellow-men; it is sweet as the accents of mercy, and cheering as the whispers of hope. And better than all, it has to our ear the unmistakable sound of a soft echo of the heavenly music of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

If any objection is brought against these Sermons, it will be for their apparent deficiency of evangelical fervor. A warmer glow of Christian emotion would give them a higher attractiveness and value to many hearts, — would undoubtedly add to their popularity and their power. Their influence is calm and sober, rather than awakening. They are less adapted to convert the ungodly, than to strengthen the virtues, and refine the taste, and cultivate the characters, of those who have already entered the school of Christ. They are instructive rather than arousing. They move the springs of action gently and steadily, not with sudden and passionate impulse. They are suited rather to make, by degrees, good and upright and pure men and women, than to change sinners suddenly into saints, or raise saints rapidly to the highest aspirations and ecstasies of the godly life.

But notwithstanding all this, the more we have studied these discourses, the more the conviction has been forced upon us, that there is a deep and powerful undercurrent of religious emotion and Christian life running through them all, that often gives to their instruction and appeals a most serious and peculiarly impressive tone. Beneath the calm and sober and beautiful exterior, we can sometimes *feel* the strong beats of a heart that glows with the love of God, and trembles with his fear. Through choice and scholarly words we discover at length that a fire of devotion is burning, and the conscience is stirred by the very sentence whose beauty the taste admires.

Such, we venture to predict, will be the discovery and ultimate judgment of most of those who will read this book. Having first introduced itself to them by its literary attractions, it will endear itself afterwards by its lofty moral sentiments and its deep, unostentatious piety.

While they will delight to recur to it for intellectual enjoyment, and the gratification and culture of a refined taste, they will turn to it also, with no less interest, to confirm their Christian faith and hope, and to find grateful and wholesome nutriment for their religious affections. C. E.

Art. VII. — THE COUNTRY PASTOR.*

The little narrative whose title we give below has attracted notice beyond the usual circle for which the publications of the Sunday School Union are intended. Selections from its pages have enlivened the religious, and we believe even the secular newspapers; in reading it, members of congregations have learned to understand better their pastor and his trials; and ministers and their families have been encouraged by the picture so vividly yet so simply drawn, of patient labor, dignified economy, and contented trust in Divine Providence. May the little volume teach these lessons to many more, while the works to which its authoress has been encouraged, probably, by the success of this, add their instruction, and give the hope of frequent mental refreshment and strength, to be derived in coming years, from the same graceful pen.

"The Sunny Side" is the history of a country minister and his family, told, not like that of Goldsmith's Dr. Primrose or Galt's Balwhidder, for the sake of the humor and pathos that may adorn it to the eye of the secular novelist, but for the instruction it may give to those who are looking forward, in hope blended with fear, in self-distrust relieved by Christian confidence, to the station of pastor, or of pastor's wife. Of the domestic

* 1. *The Sunny Side; or the Country Minister's Wife.* By the Author of "Little Kitty and her Bible Verses." Revised by the Committee of Publication. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 1851. 24mo. pp. 142.

2. *The Preacher and Pastor, by* Fenelon, Herbert, Baxter, Campbell. *Edited and accompanied with an Introductory Essay, by* Edwards A. Park, Bartlett Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover and New York. 1845. 12mo. pp. 468.

group at the Rev. Mr. Edwards's fireside, the prominent figure is his consort. The minister himself is much in his study, and labors hard there. But into the methods and results of his labor we have no opportunity to look; nor from aught that we hear of him do we conjecture that much that is new or instructive would come to us if we had been admitted to that privilege. The good man's crown is the "virtuous woman" who has cast in her lot with his. Her character is beautifully drawn. The cheerer of her husband in despondency, the kind and wise guide of her children in the right way, with modesty prompting the wish to shrink from publicity, but high principle curbing the indulgence of that wish, she appears the true pastor's wife, ready when occasion calls to be the friend and counsellor of those around her, but finding her peculiar sphere of duty in her own home.

There lies before us another volume. It is that in which the labor of Professor Park has placed before us, with other useful works and an excellent Introduction from his own pen, Herbert's charming "Country Parson" and Baxter's "Reformed Pastor." Very different is the position of the country minister in our day from that of the divines described by the holy Churchman, Herbert, and the holy Dissenter, Baxter. He is no territorial magistrate, like the ideal of the former, nor is his spiritual authority as ample as that described by the latter. Yet has the country pastor of our time, and especially in our portion of the Church, duties that Herbert and Baxter knew not of; duties which, fitly discharged, add honor to his office, and whose neglect or unwise performance subject it to opposition and contempt. With these are other duties, limited to no peculiar age, but alike in all periods of the Church's history.

The country pastor must be the guardian of education. In the Sunday school, which can seldom flourish without his active interest and frequent supervision, the younger members of his flock are trained in the way of righteousness. Would that the training were more thorough! Would that the sentimentality of an over-refined liberalism had not gained such favor among our people, that the attendance of children at Sunday school is often regarded as merely voluntary, while the instruction there is alike without plan or preparation on the part of

the teacher, and without effort to understand and appropriate it on the part of the scholar. To this it is the duty of the pastor to look, assisted indeed by the superintendent, yet never relinquishing the oversight of this important means for the religious culture of the young.

But not their religious culture alone does it devolve on him to superintend. In most of our villages, the pastor is, and is expected to be, the most efficient member of the public school committee. The office possesses importance and responsibility. Wearisome it often is, to pass from school to school, listening to the reading of the same well-known pieces in the same familiar drone. Trying it is, to reject some young candidate for the teacher's office, whose qualifications are in the inverse ratio of the estimate formed of them by herself and her friends. But the duty must be done by some one; and whom has the town more fit for the service than the pastor? The office, too, may possess an indirect bearing on the success of the pastoral relation itself, by bringing him who holds it into more direct and frequent intercourse with the young, and blending the friendly regard for a familiar aspect with the reverence for one in whom their teachers recognize a superior.

Not only in these relations, but in his private intercourse and his pulpit ministrations, must the village pastor, in these our days, feel that he is training up the young for very different scenes from those now around them. So wandering are our New England people in their habits, that the ruddy boy, who comes like David from the sheep, may be ere long exposed to the temptations of a city life, or be among the wildest specimens of the Anglo-Saxon race gone back to barbarism, in the farthest regions of the land, where Lynch law is the safeguard of society. An enlarged education should the wandering youth of our country have, in times like these; enlarged, not with the trifles of classical anecdote or mathematical ingenuity, but with common sense, modesty, courage, presence of mind, virtuous principle, and Christian faith. It is the pastor's office to inculcate alike upon week-day and Sunday-school instructors, but most of all upon parents, the necessity of an education that shall impart these qualities. It is his part to labor himself for the same purpose, whenever he is called to

address the young, or is brought otherwise into intercourse with them. It is his part to set before them an example of these qualities in himself.

And if, in his intercourse with the youth of his flock, his eye should light on one of thoughtful mind and docile spirit, one alike eager to learn and pleased to be of use, whose eye can kindle with the emotions of his heart, whose voice is not untunable, nor his motions void of natural grace, — above all, one in whom the innocence of childhood seems, like some fair blossom, about to develop the still more precious fruit of manly piety and virtue, — to such a boy does the country pastor look, as one meet to be introduced at length as a laborer into the vineyard of the Lord. Such influence as circumstances may justify he exerts to the accomplishment of this end, first with the parents, and then, by their consent, with the youth himself. He removes difficulties, encourages exertion, displays the attractions of the hallowed office, in no false colors indeed, but with those traits that endear even its labors and privations to a generous spirit. For he depicts the ministry as the one vocation on earth whose direct purpose is to serve alike God and man. He points out, how all social good proceeds from piety, and how therefore he who promotes this advances in all things the public weal. He shows how far beyond all earthly good, beyond the temporal interest even of the greatest community, is the worth of the individual soul. He extols the privilege of laboring together with apostles, with Christ, and with God. And a happy day — almost a proud one — is that to him, when, after years of thorough preparation, the object of his care is placed a welcome ministrant by some altar like that which himself has served, and he lays his hand in benediction on the redundant locks that shade the manly brow.

The country pastor is a lover of good music; yet not such a lover that he will not graciously endure that by which God is worshipped, because it comes not up to the fancy of his own nice ear. He honors his choir for their office, and strives that they honor it themselves, feeling that they also are ministers at God's altar, uttering sacred words, and leading the devotions of the people. He encourages them by the commendation their

zeal deserves, guides their taste at times by a suggestion in private, but seldom directly interferes with them. On two points, however, he is decided; first, that the singing shall be religious, and again, that the deportment of the choir shall be reverent. Laughter, and the reading of romances in the gallery, during the sermon and the prayers, meet his prompt, and, if need be, his open rebuke.

The country pastor is the champion of Temperance; and no slight nor easy duty is involved in this. He cannot decline it; for, whatever be thought of existing or proposed methods of action, the duty of temperance is unquestionable, and the ravages of intoxication are too dreadful for any man of feeling to view without being excited to an effort to arrest the evil. But what shall the Christian preacher do? He joins with others in procuring lecturers, and finds himself occupying the position of a patronizing listener, while some "reformed inebriate" unblushingly parades the scenes of his past degradation, and mimics the maudlin speech and the staggering gait that formerly were his own. Or our pastor unites with an association to sustain the laws, and finds himself and his office involved in measures, which, however needful they may be, are scarce compatible with the precept, that "the servant of the Lord must not strive." He retreats, and probably it is the best that he can do, from these and similar means of action, to the pulpit, his proper place, "his joy and throne," as Herbert calls it; and here he strives to give the counsel of wisdom in the words of love.

The pastor is a philanthropist. One or another of the benevolent efforts of the age engages peculiarly his interest. Yet he gives not all his thoughts to this, but endeavors "rightly to divide the word of truth." He has his thoughts on peace and war, on capital punishment, on slavery. Let him speak his thoughts. If it be in the spirit of sincerity, but of meekness, the people will hear and respect him; or they prove themselves unworthy of him, — more unworthy than, we trust, many congregations among us can be found.

The idea that Christian ministers are to be debarred from speaking on themes of general interest, themes concerning the moral character and conduct of the na-

tion, and the requirements of God's law, because such topics may happen to be exciting, is not to be allowed for a moment. Nor do we believe that this idea would be gravely defended by many, even in those parishes which have unhappily been led to give it the apparent sanction of their conduct. Most persons, however disposed to conservatism, will declare that they would not object to have the "exciting topic" spoken of in a Christian spirit, and in due proportion with others of more general interest. But these terms are susceptible of a great variety of interpretation. It would need in every case a familiarity with all the facts, and a mind remarkably free from a partisan spirit, to decide whether people or pastor were more in fault, where difficulties have arisen between them for the cause which has been named. But in the retrospect, with the limited knowledge which the public possesses of individual cases, the pastor who has lost his place for speaking what he believed to be the truth occupies a position of more dignity than the society by whom he has been dismissed. Our country pastor, however, covets not the honor of such martyrdom. He would meet it manfully if it must come. But to him it is no slight thing to be separated from his charge. In the anticipation of such result he is not blind to the certain pecuniary loss, the interruption of all customary pursuits, the period of suspense and hope deferred, before another settlement be secured; and more than these, the sundering of the ties of neighborhood and friendship, the relinquishment of an old home, and the trial of one unknown. But far beyond all these considerations, he is aware that the interruption of the pastoral relation involves the danger of spiritual loss to the people, while his own means of usefulness must also be diminished. Confidence is of slow growth. Years may pass before another can be to his present flock what he is now; years may pass before he can exercise elsewhere such an influence for good as he now possesses. Not idly, therefore, in mere bravado, to show his independence, not thoughtlessly, uttering words whose import he has not weighed, but from a sense of duty from which he must not shrink, will he, when occasion calls, speak the truth that he knows to be unwelcome.

The country pastor is a voter. Let him exercise the

right, and perform the duty. In Scott's "Halidon Hill" the Templar Vipont, when upbraided by King Edward for drawing his consecrated sword against the English, replies: —

> "I was a Scotsman ere I was a Templar,
> Sworn to my country ere I knew mine order."

We know that there are some ministers, whose firmness to discharge all that they regard as duty none can question, who never exercise the right of suffrage. We respect their opinion, and admit that circumstances are conceivable which would commend their course to our own judgment. But such circumstances are uncommon. We would not recommend attendance on political meetings, or the taking of an active share in the stormy discussions of parties. But the simple and quiet suffrage is, in our view, a right of which manliness forbids the surrender, and a duty not to be neglected by one who should aim to set before his people a full and complete example.

The country pastor is the friend of improvement in his own village. The general diffusion of intelligence forbids him, indeed, the position of an Oberlin; and he should be cautious, if it seems right that he should lead, to fulfil that task modestly, and rather in reality than in appearance. Let him not be covetous of office. If the town needs a shady avenue, a tasteful cemetery, a lyceum, or a high school, let his influence in supplying the need be steadily, but not ostentatiously, exerted. Yet, if there be none else to commence action, and the time is ripe, let him not shrink from any undertaking for the common good, which gives a fair promise of success. Two cautions, however, let him keep in mind: not to undertake aught that he cannot carry through, and not to let this public activity interfere with the higher duties of the pulpit and the parochial walk.

The country minister is chief oracle on the occult sciences; and in these days the office is one of no small importance. Is a phrenological lecturer in the village, with his hundreds of crayon illustrations? Is a Mesmeric physician present, attended by his faithful "subject"? Is the biologist at hand, throwing people into trances, and making them see what is not to be seen?

Have they who turn tables upside down come hither also? Or those unlucky spirits that do such hard duty in the way of rapping, and, like the pythoness of Philippi, "bring their masters much gain," — are they at work upon the floors and walls of the country parlors? Whatever the wonder, the minister will be earnestly questioned what he thinks of it. Let him answer discreetly, for much depends on his answer. Let him not in dull bigotry deny that there can be more learned than is now known with respect to any branch of scientific investigation. But let him, in regard to each phenomenon, incline to the more rational, rather than the more wonderful, explanation. Let him suggest to his friends the doubt whether they, or even himself, be well qualified to make discoveries, — whether they possess the learning, the leisure, the acute discrimination, which are necessary to distinguish between the false and the true. Let him point out to them the great amount of knowledge there is, which is established and ascertained; and advise them rather to advance in that than to take hold of some new science, under the guidance, perhaps, of an unknown itinerant.

Our country pastor is, perchance, a farmer. He is not wealthy, and the inadequacy of his means is more apparent, since he is, to use Herbert's phrase, "rather married than unmarried." By the earliest of human occupations, — that which disgraced not the royal hands of Adam himself, king of all the earth and the father of all kings, — the country pastor earns at once health and support. There are, indeed, those who tell us that an occupation like this, as it must be carried on in our day, if pursued by a clergyman, will contribute little to his means in comparison with the draught it makes upon his time, his thoughts, his energies. Our own acquaintance with the primitive art is too slight for us to decide the question. But our impression is, that, while it certainly should not be recommended indiscriminately, yet many a pastor, whose early years had habituated him to that honorable toil, might find in its pursuit alike comfort, health, and competence, without injury, and rather with increase, to his professional usefulness.

But perhaps, instead of this, our country pastor is a teacher of youth. If so, he occupies a position which

combines as much of pleasure and as much of pain as probably any other of the various avocations of men. O that circle of ingenuous, noble boys! and O that dismal task, of curbing petulance, of subduing stubbornness, of teaching the unteachable! But our pastor, if he is wise and keeps his mind chiefly where it ought to be kept, on his own great and peculiar work, will not encumber himself with many youthful pupils. He will resist the temptation which has been the ruin of many a good school, in the thought that he can take a few more with slight increase of trouble; and he will feel that they who are committed to him for instruction are not a charge altogether distinct from his chosen profession. They, too, are "souls," of whom he has the "cure." Not only the Latin Grammar, but the book of Inspired Wisdom and the book of Divine Providence are to be his manuals for their instruction. Exercising the strictest conscientiousness with regard to any interference with the doctrinal opinions in which they may have been brought up, he will yet cause them to feel that there are no realities on earth so great as truth and duty; and by all the influence of his words, his example, and the daily order and spirit of his household, will lead them at once to love and to revere their Maker.

And even if the country pastor should give a portion of his time to authorship, instead of the pursuits already named, he will feel that in his writings he is a pastor still. The vows of his God are upon him. Is he a poet? His lyre is consecrated. Does he write essays, or history? Even secular themes, in his hands, will serve to "vindicate the ways of God to men." He will desire to fill some place that is vacant in the literature of his own beloved profession, or, though not in his clerical attire, to be still "a preacher of righteousness." And if a subject of this world's interests needs to be discussed, at least in its discussion will he be true to lofty principle, and amid the meekness of the Christian

> "Nurse one brave spark of noble fire;
> Against injustice, fraud, or wrong,
> His blood beat high, his hand wax strong."

Our minister will have his trials to bear. He must learn to endure criticism, advice, rebuke, with a due union of meekness and self-respect; not taking into view

on such occasions the prompting of his own feelings only, nor, on the other side, departing from a course which he knows to be right, because it does not meet the approval of all. The respect we should pay to the advice of our friends, the regard we should have, for our own sakes, even to the censure of our opponents, has its full course, when we have calmly reëxamined our position, with whatever new light such advice or criticism may have imparted. This deference our pastor gives; and if he sees cause therefrom to change his opinion or his conduct, no false shame, no fear of inconsistency, prevents him from so doing. The only consistency worth preserving is that which comes unsought from the steady influence of wisdom, honor, and the fear of God. But if, after examination, the course objected to by others still appear to himself the right, our minister calmly pursues it, explaining to his friends, if need be, that, though grateful for well-meant counsel, he must act on his own responsibility to conscience and to God.

The country minister is a Christian brother to him who preaches on the other side of the street. It is in his power, indeed, to be to him a jealous rival, exaggerating his errors, thwarting his plans of usefulness, tempting him by his own example, and by continual irritation, to lay aside the meekness of the Gospel for sectarian strife. But not such the conduct that beseems the servant of Christ. He may be a Unitarian; he may hold dear the opinions that name expresses, and love the name itself. Why not love it, when it was the name his father bore, the name borne by the revered of former days, — by Follen, the bold and the gentle, — by the elder Ware in his calm wisdom, and the younger in his meek activity, — by the benignant Kirkland, the venerable Freeman, the world-renowned Channing? A simply appropriate name, unassuming, and indicative of the distinguishing doctrine of those who bear it, it has won to itself respect from those who oppose the sentiments it expresses; and our pastor feels as little disposed to renounce it as to renounce the name of American, because, forsooth, there are some who ignorantly despise it. But he does not feel that, if he is a Unitarian, he is necessarily or properly the enemy of those who think otherwise. As he labors on his own portion of the walls of Zion, he looks from

his rising watch-tower on other laborers, and perceives that they, too, are raising the battlements, not of a hostile fortress, but of the same glorious Jerusalem. Nor does it matter much to him if some one, looking from a defective point of view, should mistake his tower for a bulwark of the foe. The mass of those around, he is certain, will judge more truly; and the Prince he serves will know his servant. While true, therefore, to his own faith, our country minister recognizes the good in others, and rejoices to join with them, where he can, on terms of Christian amity and coöperation. In the wide common ground of benevolent effort they act in concert; they meet sometimes in the house of mourning, and the distinctions of party are forgotten in the great work of comforting the bereaved and exhorting the thoughtless to repentance. Nor does the pastor fail, while aware of the errors of his brethren, to give praise where praise is due. He can appreciate the high devotedness of the missionary, and the liberality which pours its thousands forth for the diffusion of the Bible and the tract, or for enriching the Far West with colleges and schools. We have sometimes been disgusted with the manner in which some among us have allowed themselves to speak of "the Orthodox," as if that name had no application but to what is narrow, bigoted, and contentious. "The Orthodox!" who are they? They are, in the wider of those senses in which the term is usually applied, the great majority of Protestant believers throughout the land; in the more restricted sense, the great Congregational and Presbyterian organizations, the most powerful, through their numbers, wealth, intelligence, activity, and piety, of all the denominations in our country. In either of these meanings, the term comprises an immense aggregate of true Christian love and faith and zeal. Who are they that at home utter the freeman's protest against the usurpations of bishops and of popes? Who are they whose colporteurs and home missionaries penetrate every valley, and the feet of whose messengers are on every hill-top, bringing glad tidings of salvation, and publishing the peace of the Gospel to our contentious Western borderers? Who are they that, abroad, wander through every heathen or half-Christian land, from France to Japan, with the Gospel in their hands and

the courage of its early martyrs in their hearts? Who are they that, from the times of the Puritans to our own, have chiefly sustained the theological literature of our country? Who are they whose institutions of learning fill the land, diffusing secular and religious instruction in regions where the foot of a Unitarian minister has never trod? They are "the Orthodox." Shall we qualify their praise, and style them, as one of our poets has styled the father-land of the Pilgrims, —

"For all *but gentle charity* renowned"?

If it be so, and if it be our privilege to teach them that high lesson, let us feel that we cannot do it so effectively as by our example in showing all Christian courtesy toward themselves.

The country pastor is from his position, more than his brethren of the city, the intimate counsellor and friend of his people. Is there affliction? It is his to console. Is there rejoicing? It is his to suggest the thought of gratitude. Is there sickness? It is his to kneel in prayer by the bedside, and lead the spirit that resists or trembles to submission and to Christian trust. He waits not to be sent for to such scenes; but offers, though not intrusively urging, his presence and his aid. It is a mistake of many persons in sickness, and of their friends, to delay the admission of the pastor to too late an hour. If his visits are to be of use, he should come, not as the dark herald of certain death, but as the friendly visitor in the lighter forms and earlier stages of disease. Thus gradually, from one opportunity to another, can he excite and keep alive those emotions which, by the Divine blessing, may at the last be found powerful to sustain.

Conversation with the sick and dying is a duty of much delicacy, and often very difficult to discharge. Our pastor takes into view, in each case, the circumstances of the individual's character, whether religious or irreligious, — of his disease, whether malignant in its usual character and rapid in its course, or the reverse, — and the probable effect of mental excitement upon the debilitated frame. If there be a prospect of frequent opportunities of intercourse, and if the sufferer be as yet a stranger to religion, he strives first to excite an interest in the great subject rather by reading and by prayer than

by much of conversation. In every stage of his intercourse, he guards against the error of mistaking a mere compliance with what is unavoidable, or a mere weariness of life, for true Christian submission. Nor will he fail to point out to the dying the necessity of repentance, or to urge the weighty question, whether life granted anew would be spent better than the past. He points to the only true reliance, not the remembrance of past virtue, imperfect at the best, but the mercy of God, as revealed by Jesus Christ.

And when, calmed by his consolations, and purified by his prayers and counsels, the spirit has been released from earth, then does our country pastor endeavor to withstand the temptation to exaggerate the spiritual change, and to crown the departed with the honors of saintship. He loves not greatly eulogistic sermons, nor obituary notices. Sparingly used, where there is the justification of a character or experience really remarkable, he feels that they may be appropriate and useful. But the charm lies in their rare occurrence. To the bereaved family, he willingly commends the remembrance of every interesting trait and improving anecdote in the character of the departed; but he seldom invites to them the public gaze, preferring humble trust to an ostentatious decoration of the tomb.

The country pastor labors to increase the attendance on the supper of the Lord. And this for a twofold reason; first, because, this ordinance being the outward seal of an inward self-consecration, when he urges the people to the one, he urges them also to the other; and next, because he feels that there is scarcely any religious means which, worthily used, may be more important in keeping alive the religious spirit. Yet he would not have them merely observe it as a duty, but enjoy it as a privilege. Not a privilege of pride, as the cup was emblazoned on the arms of Bohemia, but a privilege of love and holy meditation. And even thus does he strive to win mothers to consecrate their children to Christ, leading them by the way in which mothers for centuries past have innocently trodden, and mindful of those mothers in Israel who brought their little ones to the Redeemer's visible embrace. O good old forms, why should ye pass away? Why must religion be stripped

of every thing that may win the imagination to its service?

But the country pastor is greatest in the pulpit. It is an humble greatness; there is no affectation of dignity or talent; but he is great, for he is there seen as speaking indeed the words of God. What he says in the sanctuary is said not hastily, nor for mere momentary effect. His thoughts have been well sought out and set in order. He kills not himself by condensing upon Saturday and the violated Sabbath the intellectual labors of the week, but gives to the preparation of his sermon the time its importance requires. And he preaches not himself, but Christ. Allowing to his discourses a wide range through the teachings of nature and of grace, God through Christ is still the central thought. The Redeemer's teachings, best illustrated by his example, are to his ministering servant themes inexhaustible. Reverence and love are blended in the honor paid to him; and the very views of his nature which forbid the pastor to regard him as the object of prayer, by bringing every trait in his glorious human character to nearer view, increase the interest, the admiration, the devoted affection, the earnest effort of his follower to attain his resemblance.

The country pastor's wife, — what shall we say of her? Why say any thing, when her picture has been so well drawn in "The Sunny Side"? Yet a few words are due to her, if only to modify the expectations which may be formed from that pleasing picture. She is not her husband's colleague, but his help-meet. That large round of visits which it is his duty to render to all, and to all repeatedly, her home employments, in most cases, forbid her to undertake. But she can, if possessing the usual amount of health, meet their people at the sewing-circle and other occasional gatherings; she can make to herself friends among the female youth, and fill towards them that place of religious guidance which her husband tries to occupy towards the young men of his congregation. Her home, too, may be a pattern to the village of neatness and of taste; her children, examples of gentle, yet godly training; her own walk, in meekness and in quietness, taking no part in gossip but to restrain, in strife but to reconcile. As she listens with others to

her husband's preaching, she may be to him the representative of the feelings of his hearers, encouraging him when words have been well and usefully spoken, and with gentle criticism aiding him in the removal of whatever defect in matter, style, or delivery may interfere with the success of his ministrations.

Thus have we sketched imperfectly the occupants of the country parsonage. The rude outline will be blest, if it cheers one ministering brother to bear hopefully the unavoidable trials of his lot, or engages one true-hearted Christian youth to seek the privilege of a laborer in the harvest of the world's regeneration. S. G. B.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Essays and Reviews, chiefly on Theology, Politics, and Socialism. By O. A. Brownson, LL. D. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 521.

Dr. Brownson, in one of these Essays, having spoken of this journal as the channel through which he was "at one time accustomed to give circulation to his own crude speculations and pestilential heresies," we may be supposed to feel some slight embarrassment as to the manner in which it becomes us to deal with this volume from the pen of our former contributor. It is true that under the compass of that liberality which he still accords to us, — though he would not now esteem it a virtue, — he had the opportunity of expressing in this journal views and sentiments to which many of its readers applied at the time the very terms by which Dr. Brownson now describes them. If it now pleases him to attach such epithets to any of the productions of his pen, we certainly will not refuse him the liberty of so doing, though we should consider the epithets more emphatically appropriate to some of his later writings. We do indeed discover the same characteristics in all of his productions which we have read. Dr. Brownson is an admirable and a striking writer. He has a most vigorous and energetic command of the English language; his composition is always chaste, and never infringes upon the most rigid canons of good taste. He develops and

expresses clear thoughts, set forth in forcible sentences. Yet, without being what is commonly called a diffuse writer, Dr. Brownson is given to constant reiteration and repetition. A fifth part of his published pages would amply present the substance of all of them. He has also a perpetual tendency to dogmatism, under the guise of a logical method. Indeed, we do not know in the whole range of literature any compositions from which one who wished to expose the risks and mischief, and the utterly unsatisfying results, that may attend and follow from logical reasoning when applied to religious themes, could select examples more to his point than from these Essays. Dr. Brownson can prove any thing, — in fact he has proved all sorts of inconsistent and discordant things, — by his logic. And as he is laying down his propositions, and balancing them and drawing them out, he slowly, and sometimes slyly, changes the sense in which he uses important words involved in his argument, till you find yourself brought to a conclusion with a perfect consciousness that you have been trifled with and hoodwinked. We were impressed with this view of our author as a logician in the perusal of the first of his articles which we read, many years ago. We do not perceive that his skill of this sort increases, or works to any better results, as he turns it against what he once used it to advocate. When a juggler holds up from behind his table an empty hat, and, after shifting it from hand to hand and making a parade of shaking it and drumming upon it, proceeds in a few moments, during which our attention has been diverted, to draw from it all sorts of things, it matters not to us whether he takes out a rabbit, a dove, a cabbage, or a fried cake, or all of these articles. He can take out any one of them as well as any other of them, for his skill is not tested in getting either of them out of the hat, but in getting either of them in. When we are following any argument of Dr. Brownson's we have learned to be on our guard, and we always find ourselves at issue with him long before he has reached his result. We watch him as we do the juggler, to see when he *puts in* the rabbit or the cabbage.

Take, for example, the first Essay in the volume before us. It is a criticism upon an article on "The Church," in this journal, for January, 1845. Dr. Brownson's aim is to oppose to the view of the Church there presented his own view as a Romanist. He first attempts to define the meaning of the word *Church*. "By the Church," he says, "we understand, when taken in its widest sense, without any limitation of space or time, the whole of the Lord's family, the whole congregation of the faithful, united in the true worship of God under Christ the head. In this sense it comprehends the faithful of the Old Testament, — not only those belonging to the Synagogue, but also those out of

it, as Job, Melchisedech, &c." Now if the Church embraces so large and free a fellowship, it cannot be because of any connection which such ancient members of it had with Christ, of whom, so far as we know, they had never heard, but it must be because of their allegiance to principles which Christ announced in his day as the laws of God's kingdom. Very well. But on the next page, Mr. Brownson has worked his way to the following position. "When we contend for the Church as a visible, authoritative, infallible, and indefectible body or corporation, we take the word *Church* in a restricted sense, to mean simply the body of pastors and teachers, or, in other words, the bishops in communion with their chief." The rabbit and cabbage, and any thing else that the juggler pleases, may now be taken out of the hat, because they have been slyly slipped into it while we have been reading the page between the two sentences which we have quoted. What right has Dr. Brownson to assume that there is "a visible, authoritative, infallible, and indefectible body or corporation," to which he may apply in any sense the word *Church*, which he has just before made to embrace the good and pure of all ages? Again, on the next page we read, "To avoid the confusion the word *Church* is apt to generate in Protestant minds [we should think that the confusion was not confined to Protestants], we shall sometimes use it, merely premising that we use it to express only the body of pastors and teachers, by whom we understand exclusively the bishops in communion with their chief, the Pope." Indeed! We can understand nothing of the sort. Our author would hardly have amazed us more had he managed to introduce the Prince of the power of the air as one of the bishops of the Church *understood in this sense.* Then he asks, "Has our blessed Saviour established a body of teachers for his Church, — that is, for the congregation of the faithful? Has he given them authority to teach and govern? Has he given to this body the promise of infallibility and indefectibility? If so, which of the pretended Christian ministries now extant is this body?" If this question were fairly asked concerning the real Christian Church, the answer to it might be given in the words of St. Paul: "He gave some apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." The old worthies to whom Dr. Brownson first referred are thus provided for by *prophets*, while our era is gladdened by apostles and ministered to by teachers and pastors of various gifts, including, doubtless, some of the Popes of Rome. The Saviour can put it into the hearts of faithful men of all ages to serve in his cause, and while he knows his own disciples and gives them the witness of his spirit, it mat-

ters little whether or not they are gathered into "a visible, authoritative body or corporation" in communion with a Pope at Rome. Quoting the words of the Apostle, that the name of Jesus is the only name "given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved," our author seems to overlook the pronoun *we*. *We* — Christians — know of salvation only through Christ. But *others*, who never heard that name, as Dr. Brownson has already admitted by implication, may be saved without it. Here is more of his logic. "No one who is not in the Church is a follower of Christ. If the Gospel of Christ be the only law of life, no one not a follower of Christ can be saved. Consequently, no one not a member of the Church of Christ can be saved." But if Job, and Melchisedech, and others of the ancients, were members of the *Church*, then they are saved. And if they are saved, it was not because they had literally *followed Christ*, but because they followed the principles announced afterwards by him. Consequently, all who follow those principles are actual members of the Church, and are saved. Again, Dr. Brownson asks, "If men can be saved, or be acceptable to their Maker, in one religion as well as in another, wherein is one preferable to another?" We answer, that there is only one religion that is acceptable to God, and that that religion has had disciples among the disciples of *all religions*. Again, asks our author, "If Jesus Christ taught that salvation is attainable in all religions, or in any religion but his own, why were the Apostles so enraptured with the Gospel, and why did they make such painful sacrifices for its promulgation?" We answer, that their rapture and their sacrifices both are to be attributed to their illumination by a religion that relieved their minds of the very delusion which Dr. Brownson would now commend to us. The Apostles had been believers in an exclusive mode of salvation through a ritual, formal, legal religion. They were rejoiced to be delivered from that thraldom. The glorious truth was first revealed to St. Peter, that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." It might well gladden and nerve the Apostles to be sent to proclaim that all revering and right-doing men are accepted of God. That is a foundation principle of the Christian religion, — of the Gospel of Christ. Why should Dr. Brownson attempt by his logic, which is hardly distinguishable from sophistry, to confound so glorious and clear a truth with the dismal superstitions and the arrogant assumptions of the Church of Rome? We might follow up his logic step by step. But what avails such discussion?

On a later page Dr. Brownson bases the need of an authoritative body called the *Church* in his sense, upon the vital importance of an authority to interpret the Scriptures. He says, "Be-

fore I should believe the word of God itself, I must believe the contents of the book in their *genuine sense.* I must have, then, some authority, extrinsic or intrinsic, competent to declare what is this genuine sense. . . . . Faith in the supernatural requires, then, in addition to the witness that vouches for the fact that God has made the revelation, an interpreter competent to declare the true meaning of the revelation." But why does not Dr. Brownson need an authoritative guide to help him to select an authoritative interpreter, as well as to find the *genuine sense* of the Scriptures? Why does he not use his own understanding in authenticating the genuine sense of the Bible, as well as in authenticating the ecclesiastical interpreters who have a right to define that sense? By what principle does he use his own private judgment to select his teachers, if the exercise of private judgment by Protestants to find the true teaching of the Bible is the contemptible and unwarrantable and fatal thing which he describes it to be? We take it that a man who uses his private judgment in selecting a ship in which to cross the ocean, and a captain to whose skill he may commit himself, cannot with a good grace censure another voyager, who studies navigation, and purchases a sextant and chronometer and charts and maps, and uses them, and, if he be able, even purchases a ship. The point to be gained is to get safely across the ocean, in a tight vessel, well laden and well steered. The more judgment there is exercised, the better. Whether one must rely upon solar or upon lunar observations, or upon dead reckoning, depends upon the circumstances of his own case, but *the field of observation* is free to all, from the horizon to the zenith.

If Dr. Brownson would exercise his wonderful acuteness and vigor of mind on matters that demand and admit of close reasoning, there is a question which we would gladly propose to him. When we were standing once beneath the dome of St. Peter's at Rome, and witnessing the gorgeous display there made on Christmas day, the thought came into our mind that, if the Apostle to whom the temple is dedicated had descended into the assembly through the riven roof, he would not have known what form of faith or worship was there celebrated, or to what Deity the rites were offered. The unlikeness, the extreme, the amazing, the painful contrast between the Papal institution and the doctrine of Christ, is a fact which Dr. Brownson may explain if he can. A humble teacher appeared on the banks of the Jordan, and he announced the holy and everlasting truths of his religion in the Sermon on the Mount, and commissioned his Apostles to repeat *the same lessons* to the world at large, and to leave them to other generations of faithful teachers after them. To love God and to love man was his own summary of his doc-

trines. A righteous motive-power in the heart, working outwardly in the life, is the central principle of his religion. No ritual, no priesthood, no visible institution, was provided by him. And what a monstrous stratagem, what an ingenious and elaborate fraud, has been practised on the world in the attempt to identify the Papal institution with the religion of Jesus Christ! A comparison cannot be attempted at many points between the two, without resulting in a most distressing contrast. Where all was simple, unadorned, earnest, humble, meek, and holy, we have parade, artifice, gorgeous display, foul subterfuges, gross deceit, and the most arrogant wickedness. Where Jesus and his Apostles spoke some plain, intelligible moral precept directly to the heart, we have mummeries, and incantations in an unknown tongue, and a complicated code of discipline, and formulas of doctrine and processes of devotion more abstruse than the mechanism of the heavens. The Saviour instituted a rite in personal commemoration of himself; it was observed by him and his disciples *after* they had eaten a meal; friendly sympathy and converse in their own language accompanied it; and he expressly enjoined that *all* of his disciples should *drink of the cup*. What is that rite now in the Roman Church? It is a mysterious and awful scenic performance: the attendants upon it do not hear nor understand the words which accompany it: it must always be partaken of, so far as there is any partaking of it or in it at all, in the morning, instead of the evening, before eating, instead of after eating, and the cup of which *all* were to drink is the very element which is denied. In the perversion of that ordinance we have a type of the whole painful and amazing contrast between the Papal institution and that of Christ. The Saviour constantly rebuked the spirit and the policy which corrupted God's truth by *tradition*, and which ate out the life of a moral or a spiritual precept by some miserable artifice of logic or sophistry. And are we to believe that he committed the very essence and substance of his faith to the same *traditions*, as the Roman theory presumes to assert?

Let Dr. Brownson set himself to the task of identifying the religion and doctrine of Jesus Christ with the Papal institution. Let him show us the moment and the conditions when and by which power was transferred from the pure hands of the Saviour to the impure hands of a proud and unscrupulous hierarchy. Dr. Brownson may fill the pages of his Review for half a century with arguments and essays bearing upon the disputes between Romanists and Protestants. There is an unlimited and an inexhaustible mass of materials from which he may draw supplies. But there are two or three simple but vital questions, such as we have just referred to, which to our minds suspend the

whole issue. Suspend it, do we say? No! When either of those questions is put, there is no issue open: the conclusion is embraced in the question.

We have not entered into any exposition of the contents of the thick volume before us, nor remarked upon the political or the socialistic theories which are debated in it. The author is known to us only as one whom we first saw nearly twenty years ago, as he stood up in a public meeting to commend Unitarian views as having delivered him from infidelity, and whose writings we read, never with satisfaction, but always with a degree of interest, as through syllogistic processes, and scholastic arguments, and the mazes of philosophical theories, he appeared to be in search of truth which never was found in any of those paths. Our personal regard for him as an honest, laborious, persevering, and right-hearted man is still as great as it ever was. But his reasoning is suicidal. His logic, and the pranks which he has played with it, amaze and confound us.

A Memorial of the Rev. John Snelling Popkin, D. D., *late Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University.* Edited by Cornelius C. Felton, his Successor in Office. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 16mo. pp. lxxxviii. and 392.

This volume will have interest chiefly for those graduates of Harvard College who were under the instruction of Dr. Popkin. But few persons who were numbered among his parishioners either in Boston or in Newbury now survive, and doubtless many who knew him only in his later years were ignorant that he had ever been a parish minister. It seemed altogether fitting that Professor Felton should undertake the by no means exacting task of preparing a Memorial of his predecessor in office, and there will be but one opinion as to the way in which he has discharged himself of it. He has given us a most genial, interesting, and faithful sketch of a strongly marked and somewhat eccentric character. We think that if the wonderfully accurate portrait of the Doctor, which literally faces the title-page, could see through its eyes and spectacles, and read the Memoir which it introduces in behalf of its departed subject, and give judgment from him, the decision would be, that, without flattery or unfair depreciation, the biographer has been true to the dead and to the living. Its fidelity to truth in presenting a somewhat peculiar character will give it a claim upon the notice of those who had no knowledge of its subject. In the lack of any thing venerable or quaint in the College buildings, it was always agreeable to us to have the help of Dr. Popkin's bodily look and presence in investing the

University with fitting associations. He certainly looked like a relic of the past, an embodiment of antiquity. The cut and fashion of his garments, the circular glasses in his spectacles, the faded and worn aspect of those portions of his apparel which a man of the world always keeps most fresh, combined with a general tidiness and antique dignity of aspect, made us regard the Doctor as the most becoming and appropriate object in all Cambridge. If we met him in the spring-time, or even in midsummer, a sort of autumn feeling passed over us. If we spoke to him in English, we felt prepared to have him reply in Greek, or even in Hebrew. Whether we should have understood him or not is no concern of our readers. In the last call which we made upon him, some four or five years ago, we found him in his plain study standing before a high desk-table on which was opened a Hebrew Bible in folio. He said it was his daily practice to read two or three chapters of the Old Testament in Hebrew in the morning, and of the New Testament in Greek in the afternoon. Just as we entered, he had discovered, as he believed, an error in the rendering of a word in one of the Prophets, in the valuable Translation by Professor Noyes. Dr. Popkin was evidently quite delighted that his old eyes, after almost eighty years of faithful use, were still keen, and were kept in service by a mind vigorous enough to detect a fault even of a word in so famous a Hebraist as he acknowledged Dr. Noyes to be. Casting his eyes round upon some book-shelves which showed several of the historical, biographical, and poetical works of some of our late Boston and Cambridge literati, Dr. Popkin, with a look indicating no very flattering estimate of his own as to the value of those cloth-covered volumes, observed, "My old pupils and friends sometimes send me their works, — those gingham books there, — but I don't read them." In reference to the general opinion of him as a recluse, and the wonder that he did not mingle in some social intercourse with the scholars around him, he said, "There is much ignorant, not to say impertinent, speculation as to my property and income. I have but little. My income is about half a college salary. I don't like parties; if I go to them, I must have them. I am glad to see my old pupils, if any of them wish to see me."

Such as he was, Professor Felton has most justly and most agreeably drawn his character, and given to us the record of his quiet, his useful, and his blameless life. Beginning with his childhood, — for even Dr. Popkin was once a child, — and following him through his college pupilage, in which he was eminently distinguished, we find him next a college tutor and a student of divinity, and then pastor of a church in Boston, the successor of Dr. Belknap and the predecessor of Dr. Channing.

His own sensitiveness and conscientiousness, with no prompting from his people, induced him to resign his office. Then, as the pastor of the church in Newbury, he seems to have found a congenial sphere, and to have been eminently successful, honored, and beloved as a minister. He was one among the many of the divines of his day who would not take a side in the issue between the divided sections of the Congregationalist body. Not liking the extreme views of either party, he compromised the matter during the last few years of his life by attending an Episcopal place of worship. When he was called from Newbury to the Greek Professorship at Cambridge, his people were very reluctant to part with him; but his aptitude for the college office was sufficient to decide the question. He was conscientious, devoted, and highly useful in that office, and though, as his scholarly and bachelor eccentricities grew upon him, he was certainly an object of some youthful levity, he was never ridiculed and never insulted. He won respect by a natural and unassumed dignity.

The selection from his lectures and sermons which Professor Felton has given us will be highly acceptable. Though Dr. Popkin had not the graces of style, he wrote with an admirable terseness, good sense, force, and fulness of wisdom. Sometimes there is a ponderous and massive weight in his sentences.

We are to regard it as a peculiar privilege enjoyed by us of this generation, that, in all matters of interest relating to Harvard College for the last two generations, we may apply to one of its Alumni and life-long friends, who is ever able and willing to instruct and please us. The Hon. Daniel A. White, of Salem, contributes a long letter to this volume, as he did to the Memoir of Dr. Channing. With a remarkably tenacious memory, a very wise judgment, and a religious gratitude for all the good and honored sons of the College who have been numbered among his personal friends in life, he takes delight in renewing their memorials, and in retracing the past annals of the College. We hope that we shall have yet more of the same materials from his pen. He was a pupil of Dr. Popkin in College, and afterwards an attendant on his ministry at Newbury. Professor Felton was fortunate in being able to obtain just such incidental aid in his Memoir as completes without overlading the subject-matter of his volume. We thank him heartily for the labor of love which he has performed for a departed worthy, and for his surviving pupils. Let the pupils of the honored old Grecian divide among themselves this fitting legacy from his upright life and his pen.

The Blithedale Romance. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 288.

THE preface to this captivating volume is by no means the least important part of it. And yet we would advise all readers who wish to peruse the work under an illusion which will add an intense interest to its pages, to postpone the preface till they have gone through the book. Certainly one has reason to believe that Mr. Hawthorne is presenting in these pages a story, which, however it may depend for its decorative and fanciful details upon his rich imagination, is essentially a delineation of life and character as presented at "Brook Farm." It is well known that he was a member of that community of amiable men and women, who undertook there to realize their ideas of a better system of social relations. He fixes there the scene of his story, with frequent reference to the localities around, keeping up a close connection with the neighboring city of Boston; and the volume owes very much of its lifelike fidelity of representation to the reader's supposition that the characters are as real as the theory and the institution in which they have their parts. Yet in the preface Mr. Hawthorne, with a charming frankness which neutralizes much of the charm of his story, repudiates altogether the matter-of-fact view so far as regards his associates at "Brook Farm," and pleads necessity as his reason for confounding fact and fiction.

We cannot but regard the license which Mr. Hawthorne allows himself in this respect as open to grave objection. Seeing that many readers obtain all their knowledge of historical facts from the incidental implications of history which are involved in a well-drawn romance, we maintain that a novelist has no right to tamper with actual verities. His obligation to adhere strictly to historic truth is all the more to be exacted whenever the character and good repute of any real person are involved. Now Mr. Hawthorne is a daring offender in this respect. It is the only drawback upon our high admiration of him. We trust he will take no offence at this our free expression of opinion, when, while offering to him a respectful and grateful homage for all the spiritual glow and all the human wisdom which we find on his pages, we venture to question his right to misrepresent the facts and characters of assured history. If he shaded and clouded his incidents somewhat more obscurely, if he removed them farther back or farther off from the region of our actual sight and knowledge, he would be safer in using the privileges of the romancer. But he gives us such distinct and sharp boundary lines, and deals so boldly with matters and persons, the truth of whose prose life repels the poetry of his fiction, that we are induced to confide in him as a chronicler, rather than to indulge him

as a romancer. Thus in his "Scarlet Letter" he assures us in his preface that he has historical papers which authenticate the story that follows. That story involves the gross and slanderous imputation that the colleague pastor of the First Church in Boston, who preached the Election Sermon the year after the death of Governor Winthrop, was a mean and hypocritical adulterer, and went from the pulpit to the pillory to confess to that character in presence of those who had just been hanging reverently upon his lips. How would this outrageous fiction, which is utterly without foundation, deceive a reader who had no exact knowledge of our history! We can pardon the anachronism, in the same work, by which the little children in Boston are represented as practising for the game of annoying Quakers half a score of years before such a thing as a Quaker had been heard of even in Old England. But we cannot admit the license of a novelist to go the length of a vile and infamous imputation upon a Boston minister of a spotless character. In his "Blithedale Romance," Mr. Hawthorne ventures upon a similar freedom, though by no means so gross a one, in confounding fact and fiction. So vividly does he present to us the scheme at Brook Farm, to which some of our acquaintance were parties, so sharply and accurately does he portray some of the incidents of life there, that we are irresistibly impelled to fix the real names of men and women to the characters of his book. We cannot help doing this. We pay a tribute to Mr. Hawthorne's power when we confess that we cannot believe that he is drawing upon his imagination. We ask, Whom does he mean to describe as Zenobia? Is it Mrs. ——, or Miss ——? Then, as we know that no one of the excellent women who formed the community at "Brook Farm" was driven to suicide by disappointed love, we find ourselves constructing the whole character from a combination of some half a dozen of the women whose talents or peculiarities have made them prominent in this neighborhood. We can gather up in this way all the elements of his Zenobia, except the comparatively unimportant one of queenly beauty which he ascribes to her. We leave to the help-meet of the author to settle with him the issue that may arise from his description of himself as a bachelor.

Having thus relieved our minds of the disagreeable part of a critic's duty, we are the more free to express our delight and gratitude, after the perusal of the book before us. Mr. Hawthorne is a writer of marvellous power, a most wise and genial philosopher, a true poet, and a skilful painter. We have gained instruction from his pages, of the most difficult kind to obtain, of the most valuable sort for use. The quiet humor, the good-tempered satire, which has no element of cynicism, the analysis of

character, with the tracing of the deeper motives which fashion its outer workings and its inner growth, the clear vision for truth, and, above all, the sagacity which distinguishes between the really spiritual in thought and life and the morbid phenomena which so often propose themselves as spiritualities, — these are the tokens of a master-mind in our author. We thank him most heartily for this book, and gratefully acknowledge that it has offered to us wise and good lessons which ought to make us strong for faith and duty.

The Eclipse of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Sceptic. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 1852. 12mo. pp. 450. [In press, and about to be published, by Crosby, Nichols, & Co.]

We have for some time been looking for the appearance of a volume whose subject-matter and aim should be precisely those of the work before us. Hennell, Fox, Newman, Foxton, Mackay, and Miss Martineau, in swift succession, have written books which in a popular form present the various aspects of unbelief. They have rather expressed than produced the general distrust, the unsettled and sceptical state of mind, which it is evident are of wide prevalence in all nominally Christian communities. We have thought it on the whole a cause of some satisfaction, that there have been so many writers ready to offer themselves as exponents of the existing alienation from a distinct and positive Christian belief. The perfect freedom of utterance which they enjoy, the wide range of discussion which they allow themselves, the variety of method which they pursue, and the incidental illustrations or confirmations of their doubts which they venture to draw from philosophy and from the sciences, — both the real and the fictitious, — all tend to make these writers so many independent authorities on their own side of negation. Whatever other means may be relied upon by those who shall undertake to answer their arguments, or to expose their fallacies, we apprehend that their own variances and their self-destructive theories will be turned to great account in the issues which are to be tried with them during the few years next to come. These writers certainly have most grievously "fallen out by the way." The "intuitions" and the "inner consciousness" which they make the test of all truth, and the substitute for all revelations from external sources, are found to be sadly discordant in their own testimony. This fact has certainly facilitated the task of any acute opponent who shall aim to make himself the champion of an old-fashioned Christian faith as against its foes. But,

at the same time, the absurdities and inconsistencies into which these sceptical writers have driven each other furnish too ready and inviting materials for satirical and ludicrous representation; and the risk is, that, if the temptation is yielded to by their opponents, their discomfiture will not make directly for the vindication of the truth.

One by one have these deistical and atheistical publications been issued from the English press, and though they have been followed up by many able articles in most of the English magazines, there has been no book in our hands, until this moment, which addressed itself at length to the general issue that has thus been raised. Dr. Beard's volume, "The Voices of the Church in Reply to Strauss," was composed chiefly of German materials; while Dr. Vaughan's book, "The Age and Christianity," entered but slightly into the great strife, though the ability which it indicated made us regret that its aim was not wider, and its recognition of one of the most portentous contests of "the age" more complete.

We have said that we had been for some time awaiting the appearance of a book which should set itself to the task of examining and answering the several volumes to which we have referred. But our expectation partook more largely of anxiety than of impatience. We had rather wait many years to come, and indeed "die without the sight," than have a novice, or a bungler, or a satirist, or a dogmatist, or any other than a clear-headed, a liberal-minded, and a truly spiritual and considerate man, undertake that sacred task. It is no work for the bigoted believer, nor for the sentimental disciple of any one of the prevailing Christian creeds. While even the most skilful and best-furnished champion will find it very difficult to convert any one of those philosophical or critical sceptics, it is desirable that the attempt should be so judiciously made, that those who are watching, somewhat undecidedly, the present strife may be favorably impressed by the mode in which a calm and earnest Christian faith wages its own side of the contest.

In attributing so much importance to the tone and spirit and ability of the work which shall wisely undertake to refute our modern unbelievers, and in expressing our anxiety lest incompetent hands shall venture upon it, we would not be understood as implying that infidelity has assumed any more formidable shape, or found new weapons, or gained new skill in using its old weapons. Far otherwise. We have read and re-read with care the arguments and essays of Hume, Gibbon, Chubb, Collins, Tyndal, Paine, and Lord Herbert, and we have also read the sceptical works which have issued from the English press for the last dozen years. We have found no difficulty in the way of a belief

in Christianity in the later works which was not familiar to us, as stated as plainly, and sometimes more plausibly and more forcibly, in the earlier class. It is true that modern scientific discoveries and theories, with some philosophical speculations, some philological criticisms, combined with new tests of experience, have modified the method pursued by the sceptics and unbelievers of our time. But real novelty here, as in other things, is very rare. The new books, however, assume the complexion of the age; they speak to existing persons and to listening ears; they are cast in a popular form; they connect themselves with some intense passions and jarring strifes that are but incidental to their chief theme, and they fall upon a time very opportune alike for destructive and constructive theories. Not, then, so much on account of the ability or the novelty of these books, as because of their incidental relations, have we looked with anxiety to the work which should attempt to deal with them.

"The Eclipse of Faith," though issued anonymously, is ascribed to Mr. Henry Rogers, the writer of the article entitled "Reason and Faith" in the Edinburgh Review, which drew marked attention some two or three years ago. He is evidently well informed upon the whole relations and bearings of the contest on which he has entered, and realizes with full seriousness the issues which it suspends. He writes without bitterness or malignity. He is free, wholly free, from cant, from disingenuousness and artifice, and he seeks to represent an opponent fairly. He is an admirably plain writer, expressing himself with transparent simplicity and with force; using logic honestly, employing rhetoric to illustrate and not to mystify his meaning, and going no deeper into "the abysses" of which we have lately heard so much, than he can *see* the light or the darkness that is in them. Before we had read the book, we had seen in the London "Leader," a very able free-thinking journal, an unfavorable criticism founded upon this passage: —

> "What may be expected in the genuine sceptic is a modest *hope* that he may be mistaken; a desire to be confuted; a retention of his convictions as if they were a guilty secret; or the promulgation of them only as the utterance of an agonized heart, unable to suppress the language of its misery; a dread of making proselytes, — even as men refrain from exposing their sores or plague-infected garments in the eyes of the world. The least we can expect from him is that mood of mind which Pascal so sublimely says becomes the Atheist. . . . . 'Is this then a thing to be said with gayety? Is it not rather a thing to be said with tears, as the saddest thing in the world?'"

We thought at the time that the Leader's harsh criticism on this passage must be unjust. And so we find it. The author has been speaking of *frivolous* sceptics; of the thoughtlessness, the desire to get rid of unwelcome truths, the love of paradox,

and the desire to frighten sensitive friends, which are often connected with boastful scepticism. While we allow that the canting tones, the dirge-like lamentations, the arrogant assumptions, and the pity and the taunts with which sceptics are often addressed, are insulting and hardening, and therefore worse than useless, we see no impropriety in associating deep sadness, and even real horror, with scepticism. While the word implies that the subject of it is holding truth under *consideration*, it will do him no wrong to remind him that he cannot be too seriously or solemnly thoughtful, because of the tremendous issue which is for him at stake. Besides, sceptics generally have once had a faith; they have lost a faith, and with that they have lost some sweet memories, some precious feelings and hopes, — the lack of which, after they had once been enjoyed, cannot but infuse a melancholy gloom into the heart. We cannot think our author has erred in the sentiment of this passage. It is the only one in which he has uttered even a constructive discourtesy to the sceptics, who, it must be remembered, are very sensitive as to their own feelings, however free in dealing with those of others.

A slender story, barely sufficient as a thread by which to connect his arguments with the processes of living minds, is chosen by the author as his medium between himself and the sceptics, and between them and his readers. Our religious novels, so called, have repelled the judicious by their nauseating sentimentalities and their got-up artifices; but still our author need not have denied himself so severely all those legitimate helps which he might have found in connecting his abstractions and discussions with feeling and throbbing humanity. When a pleasant party of scholarly men debate their theories at a luxurious dinner-table, or after tea in a drawing-room, the range of thought and sentiment will be apt not to embrace some of those stern realities which are involved in religious faith or doubt for the open world of trial and of duty. The heart certainly may be questioned and listened to when the mind debates matters of belief. There is, however, a brief, but beautiful, appeal to the heart at the close of the volume.

The simple scheme of the book before us opens with a letter from a Christian believer, orthodox in his creed, but not rigid or narrow in his construction of it, — addressed to a brother who is a missionary in the Pacific. The writer, in a tone of sad solemnity, acquaints his brother that their nephew, the son of a deceased sister, much beloved, and viewed with fond hope as he is entering upon life, has lost his religious faith and yielded himself to scepticism. His scepticism is represented as not universal or fatalistic, but as leaving only so much of confidence in truth and in the value of reasoning as allowed the means of arguing with him under a hope of reclaiming him.

Under the form of a journal, the writer records what he says and what he hears during a visit of something more than a month to this sceptic. The aim of the book is to present the various aspects under which the alienation from the Christian faith, or a dissatisfaction with it, or the attempts to propose substitutes for it, now offer themselves to the notice of thinking and inquiring minds. It suits the author's purpose, therefore, to gather around his nephew some college friends who shall discuss their differences with him, and, on occasion, a larger party is assembled, at which we find an English Roman Catholic priest, and an Italian Roman Catholic. The writer's cue is to keep himself for the most part in the background, appearing chiefly as the reporter of the discussions, though occasionally he comes in most effectively to meet some marked issues which demand the advocacy of a plain Christian believer. It will be seen that his plan enables him to make a rare presentiment of the Babel confusion which characterizes the sceptical apostles of England. He means to use the champions of the respective theories of infidelity, and the pleaders for the religion of consciousness and intuition, to confute each other. And we must say that he is marvellously skilful in setting them by the ears, and in proving through them that the grounds on which the Christian faith is discredited are inconsistent and discordant, while the tests on which its insufficiency is declared, and the substitutes proposed for it, are open to grave objections.

It might seem as if there was an essential impossibility in the attempt of any one man, however able, to personify as does this writer so many different champions. Doubts may arise as to whether he would speak fairly and forcibly for each, and do justice to their respective positions. It is indeed difficult for any disputant, undertaking authorship in the form of dialogues, to maintain both sides of an argument. It seems like the attempt to serve two masters, — where one must be despised and the other loved. But our author endeavors honestly, and we think successfully, to avoid this obvious difficulty, by representing his various disputants as the disciples respectively of those who have published their perplexities and denials, so that in quoting fairly their views he in fact gives us independent voices in his dialogues, instead of mere feats of ventriloquism. To make their arguments confute each the other, to exhibit the wholly subjective, and therefore the eccentric and unsatisfactory, character of their tests of truth, to reduce their theories to absurdities, to involve them in dilemmas and paradoxes, to empty their inner repositories of every resource for the spirit, and to make them shiver in the nakedness of an unclothed orphanage in a desolate world and a hopeless life, — these are the processes by which

the writer reveals to us the awful difference between the boastful pretences and the poor performances of modern infidelity. We must confess that his task is all too easy, for the discomfiture which he effects is complete.

He describes to us, with admirable skill, a "Sceptic's Select Party." This is composed somewhat after the model of the dinner-parties ascribed by Addison to the whimsical nobleman, who on three several occasions invited twelve wooden-legged men, twelve that squinted, and twelve that stuttered. The clatter which the first party made in stumping into the room, the ludicrous cross-lights in which those of the second party saw each other, and the suspicions entertained by the stutterers that each was mocking another, furnish no inappropriate similes of the intercourse between the philosophers of unbelief and individualism. Our author lays out the full strength of his logic to refute the sceptic, who maintains with Mr. Newman that it is impossible that any revelation should be made to man from a source, or by an agency, external to his own inner consciousness. The very advocate of this notion is made to confess that Mr. Newman's book has in fact served that use of a book-revelation to him, as it has overcome the influence of his orthodox education, and awakened, if not suggested or created, internal convictions not felt before. The "consciousness," the "intuitions," and the "inner light," which are said to exist in all human beings, and to be a sufficient basis for all necessary and all possible faith, are shown to lie dormant, if they exist at all, in the breasts of millions, to take all sorts of erratic, morbid, and dangerous manifestations in others, and always to need precisely that development, guidance, and reinforcement which a revelation supplies. That inward oracle may be dumb, ignorant, or deceptive. There is no accordance in its utterances; the faith which it would encourage is variable, and in any two minds its teachings are discordant. The author is equally skilful in presenting the paradoxes which scepticism involves, and in exhibiting the greater perplexities which it offers, alike in its method of dealing with history and in its interpretation of the life and nature of man. He uses a keen frankness with his various opponents in exposing to them the pretences and the emptiness of their boasted "spiritualism," the moment it assumes to be independent of the Bible, and of the faith in which they were trained. He shows that, in the attempt to express the glow and fervor of their devotional feelings, their own language fails them, and that they plagiarize upon David, Isaiah, Paul, and John. Indeed, Mr. Newman says, in his book entitled "The Soul": —

"There is no book in all the world which I love and esteem so much as the New Testament, with the devotional parts of the Old.

There is none which I know so intimately, the very *words* of which dwell close to me *in my most sacred thoughts*, none for which I so thank God, none on which *my soul and heart have been to so great an extent moulded.* In my *early boyhood*, it was my private and daily companion; and to it I owe the best part of whatever wisdom there is in my manhood."

This is candid, certainly. But with what grace does it come from a writer who, in a *book* of his own, designed to serve as a *revelation* to the believing and unbelieving religious consciousness of others, maintains that God cannot use the agency of a book to address the spirits of his children? We must have *spiritualists* who have not been educated with all the best helps of the Gospel, and must have the expression of their devotional sentiments in language other than that of the Bible, before we can fairly estimate the originality or the value of the religion which they would recommend to us.

Our author treats the great theme of miracles discreetly and ably. He certainly invalidates the reasoning which would prove them to be either impossible to God, or incapable of being authenticated to man. The thesis that he establishes is, that "it is impossible to prove that miracles are impossible."

We have been forcibly impressed with the author's clear statement of the tests of historic evidence, as he triumphantly shows that we must necessarily, and do habitually, trust to testimony of this kind in spite of all the contingencies which we ourselves may suggest as liable to mislead us. We must yield in many matters to the wise counsel of Bishop Butler, founded upon his remark that "probability is the guide of life." Our author is all the more successful in that he does not attempt to do too much. After a survey of all the perplexing and inconclusive and distressing processes which every form of scepticism and unbelief involves, he does not claim that the Christian's alternative of faith in an historical revelation, attested by miracles and committed to a book as the medium of its influence upon men, is wholly divested of difficulties. On the contrary, he allows that the conditions with which such a faith is invested may come attended with insurmountable difficulties and unfathomable mysteries, while still, and *in spite* of them, there are conclusive reasons for accepting it. The difficulties of any other theory or alternative are greater. While the modern infidel maintains that the Christian and the Hottentot have the same religious nature and the same opportunities for cultivating it, we must assign to the Bible the agency which has produced the tremendous difference in their respective culture, sentiments, convictions, modes of worship, and views of the life to come.

On the whole, we have been highly gratified by the deliberate perusal of the work before us. It is a good opening of an under-

taking which we trust will be at once as well pursued. An unspeakably momentous issue now impends, not over the faith of Christendom, — for that in our opinion is not at risk, — but over the religious convictions and views of thousands of our own and the coming generation. The Gospel will furnish its own weapons for the conflict, and, what is of equal importance, it will teach in what spirit the conflict on its own side shall be pursued. The faith of the Redeemer is not at risk : —

> "Its sacred fane has stood the shock of ages,
> And shall tower sublime above the waves and winds of time."

We quote the concluding sentences of our author : —

"If the discussions in the preceding pages shall in any instance convince the youthful reader of the precarious nature of those modern book-revelations which are somewhat inconsistently given us in books which tell us that all book-revelations of religious truth are superfluous or even impossible ; if they shall convince him how easily an *impartial* doubter can retort with interest the deistical arguments against Christianity, or how little merely insoluble objections can avail against any thing ; if they shall convince him that the differences with which the assailants of the Bible taunt its advocates are neither so numerous nor half so appalling as those which divide its enemies ; or, lastly, if they shall, *par avance*, in any degree protect those who, like Harrington D—— [his hero], are being made, or are in danger of being made, *sceptical* as to all religious truth, by the religious distractions of the present day, I shall be well content to bear the charge of having spoiled a fiction, or even of having mutilated a biography."

Tracts concerning Christianity. By Andrews Norton. Cambridge : John Bartlett. 1852. 12mo. pp. 392.

Probably many readers, on seeing the above title as announcing a new publication, supposed, as we did, that we were to enjoy some more of the fruits of Mr. Norton's scholarship and leisure, in a new work. But as the volume is for the most part filled with reprints of Tracts already in our possession, we must overcome our disappointment at not being favored with something new, by a reappreciation of the old. The Tracts contained in this volume are by no means obsolete in their subject-matter or their interest. The first of these Tracts, entitled "A Defence of Liberal Christianity," was first published nearly forty years ago. It was one of those strong, clear, and thoroughly unanswerable essays which secured a moral triumph to our side in the great controversy of the last generation. In his introduction to the reprint of this article, Mr. Norton takes note of the disposition, which is so evident in some of the living advocates of Calvinism, to shrink from assenting to the literal statement of its

old doctrines, though they are still nominally received in a disguised and mitigated form, and still operate by their ill influence in "repelling the minds of men, by the view of Christianity which they present, from any desire to know what Christianity really is." The second paper in the volume is the admirable "Discourse on the Extent and Relations of Theology," which the author delivered at Cambridge, in 1819, on assuming the duties of Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature. This is followed by "Thoughts on True and False Religion," an essay whose value is independent of time. We know of no fifty pages in our religious literature which are filled by richer wisdom, more clearly expressed. The next tract, entitled "Views of Calvinism," was called out, on its first publication, thirty years ago, by a denial in an Orthodox periodical of the truth of the representation made in the previous tract of some of the doctrines of Calvinism. During the whole controversy which has been carried on in this neighborhood for half a century, the advocates of orthodoxy have sought more or less ingeniously or honestly to evade the force of the fair statement of the doctrines of Calvinism. They have denied, inch by inch, the ground on which the battle has been contested. So it has been necessary from time to time to quote from a chain of approved Calvinistic authorities the proofs that that system of divinity has from the first embraced those hideous and appalling tenets which under some aspects surpass in horror the monstrous conceptions of heathenism. The modern Calvinist shrinks from the recognition of these essential and vital elements of his doctrinal system. Professor Park and Dr. Bushnell have used their wonderful skill to soften the grim features of their creed. But when Mr. Norton held up to Calvinism its own full image, the fidelity of the portraiture was flatly denied. Mr. Norton therefore collected and printed the materials for putting the question to a fair test. These we have before us. The perusal of them is shocking, but the claims of holy truth require the exhibition of them. The North British Review asserted last year, "that Calvinism is the doctrine of the Established Churches of England and Scotland," and "that Calvinism is the highest philosophy and the truest religion." Is it honest or candid, then, for its advocates to complain, when its own authorities are quoted to exhibit it? He would be rash and ill-advised who should accuse Mr. Norton of misquotation or misrepresentation. Let this tract, then, be read and meditated.

Next follows "A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity," which is doubtless well known to most of our readers. What were prophecies in this Discourse have been fulfilled, and our churches have had sad evidence of their truth. Mr. Norton has enlarged and enriched the Note which accompanied this Dis-

course, and has given us, under the title of "Remarks on the Modern German School of Infidelity," a most acute and transparent exposure of the systems and parts of systems which have used the veils of criticism and philosophy to mask unbelief. Another Note to the Discourse just mentioned closes this valuable volume. There is a satisfaction in perusing any work of Mr. Norton's, apart from all accordance with the views presented in it, which we experience in reading the writings of but very few persons. We know not that we enjoy the same over the pages of any other of our authors. It is the satisfaction of knowing that what stands before us in print has been well weighed, has been calmly and deliberately considered; that every word has been chosen for the purpose of expressing intelligibly a clear and distinct meaning; that the sentiments and views uttered have been conscientiously tested in the balance of truth, and that the author feels most profoundly the responsibility assumed by any one who undertakes to address the minds of others as a religious teacher and guide.

The Contest with Rome: a Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, delivered at the Ordinary Visitation in 1851, *with Notes especially in Answer to Dr. Newman's recent Lectures.* By Julius Charles Hare, M. A. London: J. W. Parker & Son. 1852. 8vo. pp. 346.

If there is a man living in England who thoroughly understands the position of its Established Church in every point of view, that man is Archdeacon Hare. His own distinguished abilities, his scholarship and his discernment, and his intimacies with men of all parties, enable him to view with an intelligent and penetrating mind the actual state of things in which he finds himself a conspicuous actor. Of course he cannot be unconscious of the anomalies, the distractions, and the short-comings, which are prominent in every view of his Church, whether contemplated in the history of the past, or under the aspect of the present. Mr. Hare has had peculiar opportunities for estimating the amount and the force of the two antagonistic influences which have riven the communion of his Church. He is aware that his friend Sterling, whom he honored by his biographical and editorial service, was not the only child and minister of the Church whose secret mind rebelled at its formularies; and he is as well aware that his former associate, Archdeacon Manning, in going over to Rome, has but boldly tried a venture which many others have meditated. We therefore take up any work of Mr. Hare's with a lively expectation which we should attach to the writings of but very few of the living divines of his Church.

The "Charge" in the volume before us covers seventy pages, and is followed by nearly three hundred pages of Notes. Those who are familiar with the author's work on "The Mission of the Comforter," which is equally enriched and fortified by matter supplementary to the text, will look to his "Notes" for much curious scholarship and for specimens of acute dialectical skill. They will find such in this volume. The "Charge" begins with a lament over the dark gloom which shrouds the Church, and which had deepened during the eighteen months preceding the delivery of this pastoral. The "dismal delusions" under which so many of the members and ministers of the Church had been allowed "to give themselves up to the Romish schism," and to yield to "so withering, soul-deadening a spell," are forcibly drawn before us. With a most painful combination of eulogy and sad regret, the writer refers to the defection of his former associate, Archdeacon Manning, — the report of whose intended return to the English Church has recently been contradicted over his own signature. Mr. Hare says that one of the ablest and bitterest of the recent *perverts* ascribes the hostility of the English Church to that of Rome to traditionary alarms and fables. He refers to Dr. Newman, to whom he thus keenly replies: "To understand this extraordinary assertion, we must call to mind that this writer has employed a large portion of his time and of his ingenuity in the twofold process of transmuting fable into history, and history into fable, until he seems to have almost lost the perception that there is any real, abiding distinction between them, and to fancy that they become one or the other at the touch of a sophist's wand." Now, considering that one portion of this pointed thrust at Dr. Newman, both as he once was and as he now is, is a satire upon his rehearsal and attempted authentication of the lives and miracles of "English Saints," before he had left his first communion, it may be inferred that Archdeacon Hare has stored up no gratitude to him for his labors of that sort. Allowing, says Mr. Hare, that the English popular feeling against Rome may exaggerate many of the details on which it is founded, and does not imply a critical investigation of all the points involved in it by those who entertain it, "there unquestionably are certain huge facts, staring out from the surface of history, which the English mind, according to the measure of its cultivation, would point to in warrant of its prejudice." He instances the Marian persecutions, the fires in Smithfield, the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, the ignominious reign of King John, the monstrous claim of a right to depose sovereigns, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. These and other like recollections are the traditions mixed with the historical faith of the English people. Similar facts are

found in the history of other countries under the Roman Church; "and we have not yet allowed the sophist's wand to transmute all these evils and crimes before our eyes into blessings and acts of virtue." There is substantial ground for the Protestant feeling against Rome, and herein popular feeling is right; while it is wrong as exhibited in the notions entertained of Protestantism and Protestants in Roman Catholic countries, which "are mere fictions, derived from wilful, conscious, flagrant falsehoods."

But as nearly a hundred of the ministers of the English Church — two of them among her brightest ornaments — have within the last six years gone over to Rome, and many others have been known to doubt whether they also should not go, Mr. Hare thinks it worthy of serious inquiry how this fact is to be explained in view of the strong anti-Romish feeling which prevailed in England twenty-five years ago. "Tractarianism" wrought the process which has issued in such lamentable results, and the victims justify themselves by asserting that "they have only followed out their principles." The Archdeacon sets himself to expose the fallacy of this plea. There is a delusion, he says, lurking under the equivocal word *principle*. The plea covers a wrong-headed pursuit of one idea to the neglect of the balancings and harmonies of many *principles*. "Where would the order of the universe have been, if each particle of matter had surrendered itself to the absolute impulse of the centrifugal force? or to that of the centripetal?" The first advocates of Tractarianism, or Puseyism, did not offer themselves "as teachers of the great body of Christian truth, but as the asserters of a certain number of specific propositions, which they held to have fallen into undue neglect, and as the impugners of that system of Christian doctrines and practices which they deemed unduly predominant." They therefore forgot the limits of their own truth, and of the truth which they were impugning. They imbibed the spirit of Rome, and so fell into its system.

While the Archdeacon says that he was from the first willing to recognize the elements of truth which the Tractarians brought into notice, he professes to have as early noticed the tendency of the movement. He goes on to expose the fallacies and delusions which have attended it, and to make a very strong statement of the reasons for a resolute opposition to Rome. He has a harder work to do when he sets himself to parry the blows which are aimed against the Church of England for its inconsistencies and incongruities of teaching and discipline, as recently made prominent by the reference of the question of Baptismal Regeneration to a secular court, and by the threatened schism on the matter of the royal supremacy. He expresses an ardent desire for the convocation of a synod of the Church, alleging that there

is good ground for hoping for it soon, and avowing strongly his conviction that the laity should be members of it. Cautioning his clerical brethren against a dogmatic spirit, and commending to them the pure and faithful spirit of their religion, he closes his Charge.

The "Notes" are rich and lively in their miscellaneous embrace of controversial, historical, ethical, and doctrinal materials. The writer turns, with all the ardor and zeal of an impassioned foe of tyranny and friend of liberty, against Dr. Newman, and many a heavy blow, skilfully dealt, tells with wonderful effect. Referring to the silly little stories which Dr. Newman quotes to prove that the strong anti-Romish feeling of the English rests upon fables, Mr. Hare says, "It is like making a column stand on the cobwebs which are spun round its capital." There is formidable matter in these Notes for both Roman and Protestant controversialists.

The History of the United States of America from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the End of the Sixteenth Congress. By Richard Hildreth. In Three Volumes. Vol. III. Madison and Monroe. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 739.

This is the third volume of the second series of Mr. Hildreth's work, which embraces the national history of our republic, while his former series narrated its colonial history. He has now completed his original plan, and has been the first to do a work which invited able pens, though beset with various risks and liabilities. That Mr. Hildreth has done enough to secure for himself a distinguished place in his chosen department of literature, none will question. As to the general merits of his history, there are, as might be expected, extreme differences of opinion. We shall hope to examine and pronounce upon the work as impartially as our own settled convictions on some points, and our biases on others, will allow. One of our quarterly reviews has subjected some portions, and the pervading spirit of the work, to severe criticism; while another has highly lauded and approved it as a whole. Mr. Hildreth should have the benefit of a fair allowance on account of the inherent difficulties of his work where it involves reflections upon those who are idolized by one party and ridiculed by another. Whether he has been guided by a desire to serve the truth and to honor the true, is the test to which he and others must submit his labors.

A Step from the New World to the Old and back again: with Thoughts on the Good and Evil in both. By HENRY P. TAPPAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 304, 304.

THERE may be as much difference in the writings of several travellers amid the same scenes, as there is in a number of sermons on the same text by several ministers. So we must not think that our very numerous reports and observations from tourists contain the same things. Mr. Tappan has his full share of novelty in method and in moralizing. He writes in a pleasant style, and, in his descriptions of the usual objects and places which engage the interest of an American traveller abroad, he aims not to startle, nor so much to inform his readers, as to connect with things that have become familiar some good lessons of life. His poetical quotations and illustrations are enlivening, and his work will hold its place among the multitude of kindred subject and design.

Outlines of English Literature. By THOMAS B. SHAW, B. A. *A New American Edition, with a Sketch of American Literature.* By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 12mo. pp. 489.

THERE is a great deal that is valuable and useful in this volume. It contains an historical and critical view of some of the best works in English literature, sufficiently extended to satisfy those readers who rely upon a compend to help their own selection or judgment in reading, and offering no partisan features to render it objectionable. The author is Professor of English Literature in the Imperial Lyceum of St. Petersburg. A former edition of his work was well received. A second volume is to appear, composed of short selections from the writers here treated of. Mr. Tuckerman's supplement embraces a great deal of information presented in a good form, while his judgments, as occasionally expressed, will be regarded as impartial.

Lotus Eating: a Summer Book. By GEORGE W. CURTIS. Illustrated by Kensett. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 206.

MR. CURTIS's two books, "Nile Notes" and "The Howadji in Syria," have been received with grateful approval by the Eng-

lish world of readers. He is a graceful and accomplished writer, with a rich vein of *surprise* in him, and a freshness of fancy which fixes the mind upon his periods as well as upon their sentiments. This little volume contains his letters originally published in the New York Tribune, descriptive of rambles, scenery, and incidents, on the Hudson, at Catskill, Trenton, Niagara, Saratoga, Lake George, Nahant, and Newport.

A Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary, for the Use of Schools. Chiefly from the Lexicons of Freund, Georges, and Kaltschmidt. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in ColumbiaCollege. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 1260.

ANOTHER classical book from Dr. Anthon! This is mainly an abridgment of Mr. Riddle's translation of Freund's Lexicon. The science of Latin lexicography ought now to be perfect. We are continually making record of new efforts to realize the ideal of such perfection. Dr. Anthon has here aimed to prepare a work for the younger students of Latin, leaving out from the vocabulary no word that occurs in an author of good repute; not confining himself to follow Mr. Riddle at all points, and adding words, or remodelling articles upon them, wherever he could improve the work. He defines carefully the etymology of words, distinguishes their literal and their figurative significations, and shows their use in the authors.

Mysteries; or, Glimpses of the Supernatural, containing Accounts of the Salem Witchcraft, — The Cock-Lane Ghost, — The Rochester Rappings, — The Stratford Mysteries, — Oracles, — Astrology, — Dreams, — Demons, — Ghosts, — Spectres, &c., &c. By CHARLES WYLLYS ELLIOTT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 273.

HAVING copied the title-page of this book, and added that the writer brings common sense and a sensible religious faith to bear upon the superstitions, delusions, and marvels which he here sets forth, we leave the volume to those who may incline to read it. It will amuse and instruct them. The author writes with a curt and graphic style. He has been at pains to acquaint himself with past marvels and follies, and he has been particularly careful to present authentic accounts of the miserable trumpery, the gross and impudent charlatanry, which have been employed and

practised by that prince of humbugs, Andrew Jackson Davis, and others whose heads must bear a bump corresponding to a vacancy in the same spot of all who believe in them.

The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France. By Alphonse de Lamartine. Volume II. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 499.

While Lamartine is very far from deserving the praise of impartiality, many of his judgments concerning the most crooked times and men are substantiated by the testimony of the calmest witnesses and critics. His pages are perused for their glow and brilliancy, for the fancy which glitters over them, and the gems — sometimes artificial — which are richly scattered over them. When we have the whole story, especially its later passages, we shall be better prepared to define the value of this engaging work. This volume concludes with the proceedings in Paris after the battle of Waterloo.

"*Single Blessedness*" *: or, Single Ladies and Gentlemen, against the Slanders of the Pulpit, the Press, and the Lecture-Room. Addressed to those who are really Wise, and to those who fancy themselves so.* New York : C. S. Francis & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 297.

As we have never joined in the slanders against "Single Blessedness," and as we cannot class ourselves under either category of those to whom this book is addressed, we have not felt bound to read it through. From the cursory perusal which we have given to parts of it, we conclude that it is intended to reply to some of the extravagant and evil-minded remarks which are often made against the unmarried. We have read sentences and paragraphs of it which seem to us to be full of wisdom, keen, pointed, and well directed. But we would suggest to the writer that it is as difficult to vindicate any whole class of persons, married or unmarried, triumphantly, as it is unjust to rail at any class indiscriminately. People's opinions of the unmarried will depend very much upon the specimens of such characters, male or female, with whom they happen to be acquainted : and some persons are apt to form their opinions of all classes in much the same way.

Lectures on the Works and Genius of Washington Allston. By William Ware, Author of "Zenobia," "Aurelian," &c. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1852. 16mo. pp. 150.

The sheets of the larger portion of this posthumous book of the beloved and distinguished author were put into our hands just in season to receive notice here. Some readers, who knew Mr. Ware in other relations, may feel surprise at the facility and confidence of his language and opinions as a critic of art. He who could write what we have in these pages must have been himself an artist. The friends of the author were well aware that under his simple reserve and modesty of manner were hidden many rich endowments of which his chance acquaintance had no knowledge. Upon these the author has drawn in these Lectures. Apart from the judgment which he pronounces upon the genius and the productions of Allston, the incidental criticisms and allusions which occur on every page give proof of a talent possessed by but few for the interpretation alike of nature and art. Mr. Ware certainly owes nothing to the attractions of his own style of writing. Though for the most part he conveys his meaning very distinctly, he owes nothing to the graces, and very little to the rhetorician's art. Probably, too, there are many who will differ with him as to the relative merits of Allston as an artist, and as to his special judgment on particular paintings.

Mr. Ware aims first to give the foundations and reasons of Allston's eminence and success. These he defines to have been, his general cultivation in taste and knowledge; his truthfulness and nobleness of mind; his having painted upon a large scale, in the size of life, or colossal; and his conscientious exactness in finishing. Then our author sets before us the characteristics of Allston, as follows: his coloring, in which Mr. Ware pronounces him unrivalled, even by Titian; his power of expression; his love of beauty; and his feeling for the sublime. These qualities and characteristics are afterwards traced out in a criticism of his lesser and larger paintings. Mr. Ware certainly affects no distrust of his own judgment, as he pronounces it with a hearty positiveness, and with scarce a qualification of the praise which he accords to his subject. In reference to the neglect and disrepute into which Allston's painting of "Elijah in the Desert" — an unfortunate title, as our author affirms — has fallen in England, where it is stored away by the owner as a piece of rubbish, Mr. Ware says: "The English, in the matter of art, are governed by fashion solely, not by knowledge, or taste, or sincere relish for it." (p. 85.) He averts the charge of libel for this opinion, by alleging for it the authority of the London Art Journal.

The friends of Mr. Ware and of Mr. Allston will need no word from us to induce them to put the most favorable estimate upon this pleasant volume.

The Men of the Time, or Sketches of living Notables, Authors, Architects, Artists, Composers, Demagogues, Divines, Dramatists, Engineers, Journalists, Ministers, Monarchs, Novelists, Philanthropists, Poets, Politicians, Preachers, Savans, Statesmen, Travellers, Voyagers, Warriors. New York: Redfield. 1852. 12mo. pp. 564.

A VERY desirable, though necessarily an imperfect work. On turning over its pages one may either be astonished to find how many distinguished men there are now living in the world, or may be moved to say that there are four times as many more who have equal or superior claims to notice with many of those whose names are found in these pages. Without being designed, however, to serve as a biographical dictionary exhaustive of all the living fame and influence of our time, the book is highly useful. It embraces an impartial range. It does not aim to serve any party interest, nor does it enter into any criticisms as to the good or ill desert of men, the right or the wrong of their opinions, speculations, or influence. With the single exception of allowing admission to Queen Victoria, it confines itself to the male sex, thus provoking, especially at this crisis of the case of Eve *versus* Adam, another volume which shall give us the Female Notables of our time. If you know the names of the famous living men of the world, you may look in this book with the expectation of finding their age, birthplace, offices, occupations, and, if they be authors, the titles of their works. The convenience of such a manual must be obvious. A very great amount of editorial labor has been expended upon the book. Free use has been made of an English publication of the same title, though many of the articles in that have been rewritten, corrected, or enlarged. Many American names have been added. Some, who have shrunk from such publicity when applied to for particulars concerning themselves, have been omitted.

Lydia: a Woman's Book. By MRS. NEWTON CROSLAND, Author of "Partners for Life," &c. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 287.

THIS is a reprint of an English story by a lady better known under her maiden name of Camilla Toulmin. She is a deservedly

popular writer, because of her truthfulness to real life, and because she places the interest of her stories in natural feelings and in every-day incidents, instead of in fictitious plots. We will not spoil this story to our readers by stating even its moral. It is a charming and an instructive book, and none can peruse it without learning wholesome lessons as to the conditions of their own happiness, and the connection of that with the happiness of others, through duty faithfully performed.

The Master Builder; or, Life at a Trade. By Day Kellogg Lee, Author of "Summerfield; or, Life on a Farm." New York: Redfield. 1852. 12mo. pp. 322.

This is not an architectural treatise, as its title might imply, unless Life be regarded under the figure of an edifice, and the right building of it up be presented as the Trade which we are all to learn. The book contains an interesting moral and religious story, well wrought out, with a high tone, though a familiar method. It deserves success more than many of our popular stories.

The Philosophical Tendencies of the American Mind. An Address delivered before the Union Philosophical Society of Dickinson College, July 7, 1852. By George W. Burnap. Baltimore: John D. Toy. 1852.

Among the faculties which make the greatest difference between men are the intuitive and the logical, and the predominance of one class or the other gives origin to the most important characteristics both of individuals and of states. Dr. Burnap portrays these two types of mind as they manifest themselves in theoretical, in practical, and in social life. The intuitional element he finds predominating in ancient Greece and in modern Germany; the logical, in Rome and in England; while in the history of our own country he sees the evidence of a more equal balance of the faculties. From this has resulted that philosophy of common sense, which he regards as the proper philosophy of the American mind, and the best security for the progressive welfare of society. These views are developed with that vigor and precision of thought, and that muscular force of style, which we are accustomed to expect in Dr. Burnap's writings.

The Address has an additional interest arising from the circumstances under which it was delivered. Dickinson College is

a Methodist institution. But though under the control of a sect, the appointment of a Unitarian so well known in theology as Dr. Burnap shows that its sectarian views are held in a spirit of Christian liberality. An act of literary hospitality and courtesy like this speaks well for the generous tone of thought and the liberal culture which prevail in the institution, and is an illustration of what we believe to be the growing feeling of fraternity between different bodies of Christians.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The New Quarterly Review, and Digest of Current Literature. — The best reading which is now to be had, apart from the solid volumes of true value, is to be found in the English quarterly reviews. Elaborate articles, which almost exhaust the modern interest or bearings of a subject, are found in them, and when a book is used to introduce an article, we often get the cream of the volume, while we are cautioned against any bias or partisan spirit that it may contain, and have, besides, much additional information on its theme. A new competitor has arisen, which, however, is not intended to shine so much in original radiance as through its brief criticisms of books. Its title we have given above. Three numbers of it have appeared. It is a perfect price-current of literature, not, indeed, by giving the money cost of new publications, but by offering a *résumé* of all the works of the quarter, with an impartial estimate of each. It excludes criticisms connected with religious controversy. We have found its pages to be spirited, and its judgments in the main intelligent and fair. In the July number we find a reference to President Sparks's Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon; from which reference in the Review we quote the following: —

"Lord Mahon's ungenerous treatment of the founders of a nation whose future greatness imagination is not large enough to measure, has excited some stir on the other side of the water, and if his Lordship should read all the exposures of his blunders, as they appear in the Yankee literary papers, he has probably done fair penance for his sins. Dr. Sparks, in this pamphlet, gives to the charge made against him a direct and flat contradiction. If the Americans knew how little we in this country think of Lord Mahon or his book, and how totally the latter is unread, except within a little Tory clique, we think they would give themselves less trouble about the matter."

The Christian Repository. — We have received two numbers of a new monthly publication bearing this title, to be regularly issued from Meadville, Pa., under the auspices of the Professors of the Theological School in that place. Its editors are President Stebbins, Professor

Folsom, and Elder J. E. Church, and it is to enlist the pens and the zeal of the Liberal Christians of the West. We hail the enterprise with great hopes of the aid which it will contribute to a holy cause in a wide region that awaits good seed. The numbers before us contain a variety of articles, with Criticisms and Intelligence.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., of Boston, have published a new Edition, in the original octavo form, but at a greatly reduced price, of Sparks's Life of Washington. Though two or three attempts have been made to displace this noble biography, by offering or promising others to the public, it is not likely that we shall ever have another, with the same high theme, that shall be better than this, or even so good. How it is now afforded at one dollar and a half a copy we do not know, but we are glad that in so handsome a form, and with its valuable illustrations, it is put within the means of the majority of the families in our republic. Its moral, as well as its historical value, gives it a claim to a universal circulation among us.

Meyer's Universum. — Under this title there is in course of publication in New York a beautiful work, which has already been very much approved and commended abroad. It is published in half-monthly parts, each at a quarter of a dollar, containing four rich engravings of the most interesting scenes and objects in the world, followed by letter-press descriptions. As a work of art and of use, it is eminently worthy of patronage. Four parts have thus far been issued.

G. P. Putnam, of New York, has published a revised edition of Kennedy's popular American story of "Horse-Shoe Robinson; a Tale of the Tory Ascendency," in two volumes. Like the author's "Swallow Barn," it contains the best descriptions and pictures which we have of life in the Old Dominion in the olden time. We have been invited to its reperusal by the remembrance of the pleasure which we derived from it some fifteen years ago.

Mr. Hudson's edition of Shakspeare, now in course of publication by James Munroe & Co., has reached to the fifth volume. It continues to deserve the good opinion which we expressed of it on the appearance of the first volume. Its compact form, and its elaborate illustration by Introductions and Notes to the plays, will make it abundantly satisfactory to the majority of the readers of the monarch of all dramatists.

"Questions on the Gospels," is the simple title of still another Sunday-school manual published by Crosby, Nichols, & Co. From the date given in the Preface as Portsmouth, N. H., we infer that the book was prepared by the Rev. A. P. Peabody, D. D., chiefly with a view to its use in his own school. Certainly no one is better qualified to do such a work well. We commend the book to the attention of teachers and ministers.

Redfield, of New York, has published a new book by Henry William Herbert, a writer of much genius and power, entitled "The Knights of England, France, and Scotland." It contains legends of the Norman Conquerors, of the Crusades, of the feudal times of Europe, and of Scotland.

The Messrs. Harper of New York issue some more new works from the prolific pen of the Rev. J. S. C. Abbot. Four pleasant little volumes for the young bear the title of Marco Polo, because they record journeys and travels. "The Mother at Home" and "The Child at Home" are two more of a domestic and instructive character, written in a spirit of love and wisdom.

The Blank Bible. — There is a sprightly episode in a book which we have noticed at length on a previous page, — "The Eclipse of Faith," — which we deem worthy of presenting in substance to our readers. After a day of earnest discussions with a sceptic's party which embraced all the varieties of unbelieving critics and philosophers, as well as two Roman Catholics, and with a brain wearied by a review of all the questions relating to the Bible that are opened by Protestants, Romanists, and doubters, the writer has a dream. As he takes up his Greek Testament to read a chapter, he is amazed to find that the old familiar book presents to him a total blank. A large quarto Bible, and another in Hebrew, are found to present the same startling substitution. A servant comes in in dismay and affirms that thieves must have entered the house, for that, though nothing else is missing, her large Bible has been taken from the kitchen table, and another book of the same size, but filled with white paper, has been left in its place. On going into the street the dreamer meets a friend who alleges that the same strange calamity has happened to his Bible, and presently it is found that the same marvel has erased the contents of every copy of the sacred volume throughout the world.

The effects of this calamity on the varied characters of men are traced. A keen speculator runs to the depository of the Bible Society, with an offer to purchase all their copies at a high premium, but they are all *blank paper*. Some, to whom their Bibles had always been *blank*, as for any use which they had made of them, were loudest in their complaints. One old gentleman, who had never seen its contents, complained that it was "confounded hard to be deprived of his *religion* in his old age." An old sinner was alarmed for the *morals* of mankind, and expressed his fears that the loss would have "a *cursed* bad effect on the public virtue of the country." One resolute old sceptic, who was bedridden, refused to believe the story. Impudence, connivance, fraud, were the explanations which he suggested of the alleged miracle. An excellent female, an invalid, gazed in dismay upon the vacant pages of her Bible, from which she had once taken so much comfort in her life of sorrow. But she had not lost her faith, and while this heavy judgment was visited upon the land, she would trust to her well-stored memory of sacred and precious lessons. Another venerable dame, whose Bible had contained between its leaves notes for a hundred pounds sterling, considered the "promise to pay" of far more account than the *promises* of the Book, and was inconsolable. While to the remark of a sympathizing friend, who suggested that "their memories would retain enough of the Bible to carry them to heaven," she gave a hypocritical assent, she suggested that "a little in that case would go a great way."

Then the dreamer gives us a sketch of the intense activity and the ingenious devices to which recourse was had to repair the great loss to the world. It was suggested that the whole Bible had been quoted by piecemeal, and had impressed and transferred its contents in and to the whole

literature of eighteen centuries in all languages. But it was found that every text and phrase of the Bible had been erased from every book. Then it was discovered how much literature of every sort and kind had been indebted to the Bible. The vast mass of human writers had become worthless, riddled and scarred through and through, with scarce any ten consecutive pages of any book left unmutilated. Sweet passages of Shakspeare and Milton and Scott, as well as the most beautiful of Bacon's "Aphorisms," were reduced to enigmatical nonsense. Ruin stared all book-dealers in the face, and the enormous amount of blank paper and books in the market paralyzed the industry of stationers and manufacturers. Utilitarianism turned the pages once filled with the poetry of Isaiah and the parables of Christ into records of the sales of silk and muslin, of cheese and bacon. Those who were disposed to make the first venture in attempting to restore from their memories passages of the sacred text, feared that the characters, if written, would at once fade away; but on trial, they found that the letters remained. So people concluded that God had left them free to reconstruct the Bible from their several remembrances. Strange consequences followed on this joyful discovery. Some of the most obscure and neglected individuals came into high regard as public benefactors, because they could restore important Scripture texts. A synod of learned divines of all denominations came together to collate the passages thus restored. Their labors were impeded and their meetings wellnigh brought to a premature close by their disputes upon trifles which they magnified into supreme importance, as whether there were *twelve* baskets of fragments from *five* loaves after *five* thousand had eaten, or *seven* baskets from *seven* loaves after *four* thousand. Vanity, obstinacy, pertinacity, and prejudice had a wide field in the synod. A Quaker insisted that the words instituting the Lord's Supper were, "And Jesus said *to the twelve*, Do this in remembrance of me," so strongly was the Quaker convinced that the rite was for *the twelve* only. Unitarians and Trinitarians differed as to the reading which Griesbach had approved in certain passages. An Episcopalian and a Presbyterian and an Independent contended as to whether the words *bishop* and *presbyter* were used synonymously, as the latter maintained, and whether Timothy and Titus were once called *bishops*. The memory of a Calvinist was very tenacious as respects the ninth chapter of Romans, but sadly treacherous concerning some verses of St. James's Epistle. Tradition, when only a month old, was found to play some sad tricks even with honest people. New sects, more numerous and bitter than the old, came into being, the chief of which were the "Long Memories" and the "Short Memories."

An old miser contributed a Scripture text on prudence, which had remained in his memory through force of his having always abused it through life. People remembered what especially related to the duties and infirmities of their respective neighbors and companions. Husbands remembered what was due from wives; wives, what was due from husbands. The unpleasant remarks about "better to dwell on the housetop," and the "perpetual dropping on a rainy day," were handed in from thousands. Solomon's "time for every thing" was picked up in fragments; the undertaker said, "There is a time to mourn"; the comedian, "a time to laugh"; many young ladies, "a time to love"; people of all kinds, "a time to hate"; every body knew there was "a time to speak," and a worthy Quaker put in, "a time to keep silence."

Some very dry parts of the law of Moses were recovered from jurists, and genealogical and chronological matters from antiquarians, who respectively knew nothing of other contents of the Bible. Some profane wags suggested that *not* should be left out of the Commandments, and be inserted in the Creed. But they were curtly reminded, that people would not sin with half the relish, if they were commanded to sin, nor find pleasure in infidelity if it were a duty. The time consumed in settling controversies, and the bulk of the documents produced, alarmed many lest either the end of the world should come before the work were done, or lest "the world itself would not contain all the books."

Finally, there were speculations concerning the *object* and *design* of the miracle which had obliterated the sacred text. Many thought the labor of the synod to restore what God had taken from them was a profane and atheistical attempt to frustrate his will. Some, who were glad to be released from so troublesome a book, bitterly exclaimed, in affected piety, against this rash design to counteract the decrees of Heaven. The Papists were sure that the miracle was designed to convince a rabid Protestantism of the necessity of submitting to the Church and to an infallible Pontiff. But on being reminded that much of the lore of the Fathers was also mutilated by the erasure of Scripture passages which they had quoted and perverted, the Jesuits boldly affirmed that the erasures were rather an improvement, for that the works of the Fathers were as intelligible and as edifying as before. Many Protestants assented to this latter opinion. Infidels, on the other hand, explained the miracle by alleging that God, not in indignation, but in compassion, had taken away the Bible, because men had regarded it with an admiration and idolatry which exalted it above that clear, internal oracle that he had placed in every breast.

The impudence of this last suggestion so excited the laughter of the dreamer that he awoke. The vividness of his dream had almost persuaded him of its reality. He grasped the open Bible before him, on which a ray of the morning sun was shining, to test his dream. His eye fell upon the words, "The gifts of God are *without repentance.*"

The Dublin Review and Kitto's Journal. — The "Dublin Review" and "Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature" for July are as usual full of rich and suggestive material, and supply evidence of much activity amongst the theologians of Great Britain, Catholic and Protestant. They are indeed expending much of their strength in controversy with each other; and yet this is not all loss, sorely as their energies are needed against a common foe, since these ever-renewed conflicts afford occasions for bringing out into sharp outlines the peculiar elements of systems apparently opposite. We never follow the discussion of an intelligent Roman Catholic without gaining a fresh impression of the amount and quality of instruction which the *soi-disant* Evangelical has yet to receive from the ancient Church. The Dublin Reviewer in the course of an examination of "Letters to a Seceder from the Church of England to the Communion of Rome," suggests many considerations which the man of creeds should ponder. Mr. Scudamore, author of the "Letters," is willing to accept the authority of the Church for from three to four centuries; farther he cannot go. But, urges his Catholic Reviewer, just where you stop, you find the creeds of Nice and Constantinople; if you pause there, you will find the Unitarians unmanage-

able, and the like. And why, asks the Reviewer, is not the Church of this age as reliable as the Church of any past time? why, if the Holy Spirit has not forsaken it? And the question is significant. It points to a principle which lies at the foundation of true Christian progress, a principle which allows us to value the creeds that are written to-day as highly as the ancient creeds, indeed to hold them at a higher rate. Since the days of Christ and of his Apostles we are all learners in the great school of the Church, and the longer we live and the older the Christian Church grows, the more we should know. "We are the fathers," they who have preceded us were the children. The Council of Nice or of Constantinople cannot be final for us. What is the Christian experience of to-day? In this sense the doctrine of development is a valuable truth.

Making all due allowance for sectarian biases, the Dublin Reviewer has good reason for magnifying the missionary labors of the Jesuits in India far above those of the Protestants in the same region. The Romanist must bear away the palm in the contests of self-denial, with his missionaries sustained at a shilling sterling a day, whilst the English Protestant, in the same sphere of service, costs his society ten shillings and more a day. Fifteen hundred dollars a year seems to be the average salary of Anglican missionaries, whilst the "prizes," as Sydney Smith would say, range from three thousand to four thousand two hundred dollars *per annum*. The strange fancy of some Protestants, that a heathen man has only to read the Bible to become a convert is thus satirized: "The Protestant idea of converting an idolater seems to be flinging a Bible at his head." On the other hand, we may question whether *Padre de' Nobile* did not rather caricature than imitate St. Paul, who became a Hebrew to the Hebrews, when he assumed the dress of the Brahmins, and seemed by his conformity to their ways to allow a significance to their childish ceremonies, and almost outdid the most ceremonial of the Indian formalists in his ritualism. You cannot tell, it is usually urged in such cases, how much is gained by this course, as, for example, one hundred thousand idolaters converted; but it is fair to ask, on the other hand, how much is lost by it, — what a miserable and disastrous confounding of truth with falsehood is the result. Has it not been too much the aim of the Romish Church to show how much of the spirit of Christianity may be manifested through heathenish forms! Has it not ever been trying to put the new wine into old bottles! Yet with an over-readiness to meet superstition half way, and to dilute the truth for the world's palate, the Catholic displays more of the true wisdom of the serpent in dealing with human nature than the Protestant.

"The Howadji in Syria," in common with other travellers to the East, found less Christianity in Jerusalem than anywhere else in Christendom, within the circuit of his journeyings, which perhaps may account for the fact that the Protestant mission under charge of Dr. Gobat reports only two converts and five or six inquirers for the year 1850, after an outlay of four thousand five hundred pounds for that year. Be this as it may, James Laird Patterson has been made a Romanist by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; yet perhaps we shall regard the pilgrimage rather as the occasion than as the cause of the conversion, when we are told that Mr. Patterson and his friend, being persuaded "that they were respectively a deacon and priest of the Anglican branch of the Catholic

Church, took abroad with them a portable altar-stone duly consecrated by episcopal hands," and that "at Vienna they purchased the necessary Catholic vestments for offering the Holy Sacrifice." What solid arguments led Mr. Patterson to go back to the Romish Church we are unable to gather from the Reviewer's notice of his tour. He was asked, it seems, to celebrate mass, inasmuch as he had the needful equipment, and feeling that he had no right to do so without being in full communion with Rome, he decided that he ought to be in full communion with Rome. This and the base argument from numbers seem to have carried the day.

Anglican convents appear to be in bad odor. Protestant superiors turn out tyrants, and lady mothers any thing but motherly. 'You must have my religious orders or none,' says the Romanist; 'yours will surely be failures.' But Romish monasteries, if Gilbert Burnet and his authorities are in any measure reliable, have often been sad failures. Are there not evils inseparable from the conventual system? We must agree with one of the victims of a Bristol "Home," that "one may be good to the poor, and yet live in a respectable and clean house." The Romanists, according to the Reviewer of Miss Sellon and her sisterhood, have surrounded conventual establishments with such guards, that the unwilling are not likely to be enticed into or forcibly detained in them. — A Rev. Mr. Meyrick, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, undertakes to discourse of the practical working of the Church in Spain, and is entertained with not a very cheering picture of the practical working of the Church in Oxford, and the moral is, that, if we study any institution from the outside and with a prejudice, we shall not be likely to do justice to its workings.

A writer upon Hitchcock's "Religion and Geology," in Kitto, clearly and strikingly exposes the error of basing the argument of "design" altogether on the geological fact "that new species have been introduced at distinct periods in the past history of the world." "The great error in combating the materialist's arguments consists in regarding the matter in question as one of *time* instead of pure *causation*. The time-element wonderfully complicates the matter, and there is no escape from the subtilties about infinities whenever the play of this element is allowed." — Inefficient preaching and the remedy for it are topics of discussion in England as well as in our country, at least in the Establishment. Can there ever be efficient preaching in an Establishment? Is there not likely to be in such circumstances a preponderance of the conservative element? — An article upon Luther bears witness to a renewed interest in the great Reformer, without adding any thing to what we have long known of him. The extracts from Montgomery's poem upon this theme are not of a very exhilarating character. — We are glad to notice the appearance of the fourth and last volume of the Life of Dr. Chalmers, a work which has well sustained the interest of the earlier portions. We have only regretted thus far, as we have read the volumes, that the great preacher could not have remained from beginning to end in the active and direct exercise of the sacred profession. Not that he withdrew his heart or his efforts in any degree from holy things, but we need more than all else now examples of strictly ministerial fidelity and success, success in presenting *concrete*, *usable* truth to the common mind, to congregations and households. Chalmers began nobly, when he did really begin. Nothing can be more interesting than

his escape from the elegant Sadduceeism of his early years, and he went on nobly to the last; but we still crave the *preacher and pastor*, not only one who can give us the science of preaching, and we always regret it when circumstances compel a gifted, earnest, and successful clergyman to leave his post in the active ministry. We shall hope to be able soon to give our readers an account of the contents of these volumes of Memoirs. — There is to be a Bishop of Sierra Leone. Dr. O. E. Vidal, incumbent of Upper Dicker, Hersebridge, Sussex, was consecrated to the office on Whitsunday last, in Lambeth Palace Chapel. It seems that some of the converts in the colony have nobly sustained a persecution. The Archbishop, it seems, is satisfied of the capacity of the negro for moral elevation. One of three persons of color ordained by him prepared a paper on the Christian Evidences, of a very creditable character. It is to be hoped that this experience of the Primate of England will be of service to Judge Jay in his unwearied, but at the last accounts unsuccessful, efforts to secure a recognition of the colored clergy of the Episcopal sect amongst us as members of their Convention.

Commencement at Harvard College. — This annual literary festival was observed at Cambridge, on Wednesday, July 21. Notwithstanding the intense heat, the church was filled during the exercises by a crowded and apparently interested assembly. The friends of the College attend from year to year, and for the most part acquiesce in the uniformity of the observances, and suggest no change in the established course of things at Commencement. But a few, whether from that uneasy and inspiriting conviction so prevalent in various interests, that things must either change or be changed, to meet the necessities of all human affairs, or because they really can conceive of some better method, think that the exercises at Commencement might be made more lively, more exciting, more improving, giving scope for vigorous and free minds among the young, and recognizing some of the nobler strifes of the world around. However common or well-grounded this view is, it is certain that no one has yet suggested any way of realizing it at Cambridge. True, there might be dialogues or disputations, as of old, between parties speaking from opposite sides of the gallery. There might even be an element of the dramatic introduced, as we have seen it at Commencement at Amherst College. But while young men would dislike any mere puerilities on that occasion, they cannot be expected to prove themselves to be statesmen or philosophers. As nearly forty members of the graduating class took part in the exercises, they were necessarily restricted to but a few minutes for each, and even then it was something of an effort to keep the attention fixed for so long a time. Judging by a reasonable standard, the performances were good, and some of them distinguished for composition or delivery, or for both. Eighty-one gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in course. Besides those who received in course the degrees of Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, and Doctor of Medicine, Mr. Francis Holyoke received the degree of Bachelor in Science. The following gentlemen received honorary degrees: —

Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, N. H.; Rev. John Mason Peck, of Illinois; Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, of Providence, R. I.; Rev. Horace Bushnell, of Hartford, Ct.; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, of Boston, — the degree of Doctor in Divinity.

Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., President of Brown University; Hon. Thomas Bell Munroe, of Kentucky; Isaac Lea, Esq., of Philadelphia; Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport; Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis, of Boston; Francis Guizot, and Alexis de Tocqueville, of France, — the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Rev. William Morse, of Tyngsborough; Rev. William R. Alger, of Roxbury; Ivers James Austin, Esq., of Boston; Henry Greenough, Esq., of Cambridge; Edward Gilchrist, M. D., U. S. N.; Augustus F. Gardner, M. D., and Freeman Hunt, Esq., of New York, — the degree of Master of Arts.

Meeting of the Alumni of Harvard College. — After an interval of several years, the effort to engage the graduates of Harvard in a festival was again tried this year, and was successful in its results. The Phi Beta Kappa Society yielded the day which had long been kept for its own uses, and there is reason to believe that henceforward the two societies will alternate in their celebrations. The graduates assembled at a business meeting in Harvard Hall, at 10 o'clock, on Thursday, July 22; the Hon. Edward Everett, President of the Association, in the chair. The officers were reëlected. A plan was presented by a committee, which, with slight modifications, was adopted, — its object being to suggest and secure the establishment and direction of scholarships in the College. The sum of two thousand dollars given by any class, or by any member or members of a class, may endow a scholarship, bearing the name of that class, and its income shall be available to any student whom the class shall designate, with the allowance of the government of the College. The plan is an excellent one, and we have reason to believe that before the close of another academic year more than one scholarship will have been founded.

A procession of graduates was formed at Gore Hall at noon, which marched to the First Church, where, after a prayer by Rev. Dr. Frothingham, an eloquent, scholarly, and classical oration, fully suited to the occasion and to its spirit, was delivered by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, which has now been published by Bartlett, of Cambridge.

After the exercises in the church, the graduates marched again to the Library, and from thence to the spacious tent where they dined. Mr. Everett presided at the dinner in his most felicitous manner, and several excellent speeches followed the repast.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. — Ever since it was our privilege to be present at a meeting of this representative of Liberal Christianity in Great Britain, we have found matter of interest in perusing the record of its anniversaries. The twenty-seventh annual meeting was held this year in London, on June 2. If names and titles and a few local terms and references were omitted, the reports of the discussions at the meetings of our own Association might be interchanged with those of our brethren in London, and it would be difficult for many persons to detect the substitution. So almost identical are the conditions, relations, prospects, and difficulties of

English and American Unitarians respectively. In either country, those who come together as members of a Unitarian Association are aware that they constitute but a very small portion of the unassociated men and women that really hold the same religious views. This fact not only makes our meetings but partial exponents of our real fellowship, but it also has a dispiriting and cramping influence upon the debates and doings of those meetings. Some whose sectarian zeal or interest leads them to unite in party action, and to lay stress upon the good results that can be effected by it, attribute the very meagre fruits which have thus far been realized from it to the indifference of those who, they think, ought to coöperate with them. It is hard to believe that the friends out of the camp, and those who find entertainment in other camps, are not to be counted as actual foes. The inherent difficulty of sustaining a religious association without a creed is not the only, nor perhaps the chief, reason of the disproportion between our real strength in numbers, and the show which one of our meetings makes. Indeed, we suppose that any strict definition of our belief in the form of a declaration of doctrinal opinions, however close or free its terms, would drive off more than it would win to us in either country. The risks of being implicated in sectarian action, of being involved in ecclesiastical proceedings, or of being committed to principles or enterprises that will impair individual freedom, are rather bugbears, than real liabilities, though many are wont to urge them. Probably a conviction that absolute individualism will best serve a Christian faith and purpose in these times, at any rate that it is worthy of a trial, and the fact that there really is so much of individualism as to make it a prominent, if not a controlling, agency in our day, may operate more effectively than mere blank indifference in thinning our ranks as they set themselves in visible array. The unbelief in Christianity as a revelation, which in both countries has sheltered itself under an ostensible profession of Unitarianism, has given a shock to the sectarian zeal of many. That all that has been said on this account against our body, here and abroad, has never driven us into any demonstrative measures that could be called persecution, is a fact in which we may take pride. But the freedom which Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge have exercised in advocating infidel opinions has done something towards dividing fairly the responsibility for such views.

Doubtless worldly influences operate more strongly against the profession of Unitarian views in England than in this country. We find that the chairman of the London meeting, W. P. Price, Esq., was complimented at the collation afterwards for his "moral courage," as "a gentleman aspiring to public office appearing at a meeting of Unitarians." But if, as the Westminster Review for July asserts, infidelity is more prevalent among the upper and the lowest classes in England than in any other part of Christendom, there is less temptation to conceal any earnest convictions. Unitarians in towns and villages where they find it difficult to maintain their own worship may suffer much from the lack of that sympathy and pecuniary aid which the indifferent or the calculating might and ought to afford them.

The receipts and the expenditures of the Association for the last year were both short of six thousand dollars; though in Great Britain, as here, the amount given by Unitarians for sectarian purposes through other channels far exceeds the amount that passes through the Associa-

tion. Besides various other stocks belonging to the Association, there is a fund, exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars, set apart for the publication of an improved version of the Scriptures. That such a version is needed, and would be highly valuable for men and women in all classes of society, we should all admit. But what an undertaking it will prove now, or at any time!

It is not uncommon to hear in our own meetings expressions of qualified praise and of implied censure attached to the names, opinions, and influence of some of the early English Unitarians. Something of the kind was heard and replied to in the London meeting. The Rev. S. Bache observed in the course of his remarks: — "I often hear it said, and I sometimes read it, with considerable pain and dislike, that these men [Lindsey, Priestley, Belsham, &c.], at a time of controversy, very properly devoted themselves to questions of mere theology, and answered the want then felt for a critical study of the Scriptures; but that, great as they were as theologians, they had very little spirituality. And so, then, it comes to this, — that Priestley was not a spiritually-minded man! Priestley, of whom, be it observed, that, of all the spiritual discourses in our language, there is not one which deserves, or will receive, a longer continuance of attention and regard than that on 'Habitual Devotion.' (Hear.) Nor is that all; let me here mention a fact which should shame any one hereafter for speaking of Priestley in the manner to which I have alluded. It was immediately after hearing that discourse, and in consequence of having heard it, that a lady, talented, spiritually-minded, and highly poetical, — I mean Mrs. Barbauld, — wrote one of the most beautiful and devotional productions in the language; owning at the same time, with delight, that she was inspired thereto by the genius of Priestley's sermon. (Hear.) No, Sir, it will not do to tax these great ones of the past with want of spirituality. I should like to know who would say that Lindsey was not spiritually-minded! — of whom it is recorded that he was found to be remembered in the homes of the general people, not for his doctrines, but for his practical Christianity. Let us never hear any thing more of this most unnatural and untrue allegation."

Two years ago a plan was proposed by an honored Unitarian layman, Mr. Russell, for the formation of a Minister's Benevolent Society. He was moved to this object by several excellent motives. Many of the English Unitarian ministers, especially those over the smaller rural and provincial societies, have but very slender means of support; salaries as low even as two hundred dollars are not unknown. Hence there is much suffering and apprehension of suffering in individual cases, the anxiety of the minister is turned toward his own support and the destitution in which his death would leave his family, while the resources through teaching and other employments to which he may look impair his usefulness. Some congregations are niggardly, and others lack generosity in this matter. Thus many young men are deterred from devoting themselves to a profession which their hearts choose and their minds would ably serve, and our cause is made to languish. Mr. Russell proposed a coöperative, not an exclusively charitable society. Ministers themselves were to contribute a small annual sum during their time of health, and it was hoped that, by gifts from laymen, legacies, and assessments on ministers whose circumstances would relieve them from a future application to the fund, a sum would be obtained suffi-

cient to secure considerable annuities to the necessitous. Among us a Society for the Relief of Aged and Indigent Ministers was formed as soon as the need of it had been forcibly presented. It is to be considered, however, that necessitous widows and children of Congregational ministers were already provided for, and that in our Society no assessment is made upon those who may be candidates for its benefits.

A meeting was held in London, June 3, in the Essex Street Chapel, of those who had been called together to consider Mr. Russell's project, he having died without the opportunity of bringing it to an issue. The project was warmly advocated, and as warmly opposed. The objections to it were principally these: that those who would most need to depend upon the fund would be unable to pay the annual assessment which would entitle them to it; that there was something offensive in establishing a class charity in a profession which ought to sustain its members in a legitimate way; and that it would encourage societies in their laxity or injustice in a matter of pecuniary obligation, when they ought to be reasonable, if not liberal. For the present the subject is intrusted to a committee.

Theological School at Meadville, Pa. — The anniversary exercises of this Western School of Divinity, took place on Thursday, July 1. The annual sermon had been preached on the previous evening by Elder Goff, of Camptown, N. J., which is reported by hearers of it to have been eminently devout, earnest, and fervent in inculcating the duties of the Christian ministry. An unusually small class graduated from the institution this year, a circumstance not likely, we trust and hope, to happen again. The dissertations, with their authors, were as follows, — after the proper devotional exercises: — 1. Sympathy as a Power in a Minister, by Edward H. Chesney. 2. Constantine the Great, by Courtland Y. D. Normandie. 3. The Filial Spirit, by B. S. Fanton. 4. The Doctrine of Christian Perfection, by D. H. Johnston. 5. The Prophetic Messiah, by David E. Millard.

It was intended that the corner-stone of the new edifice for the uses of the School should have been laid on this anniversary, but a severe storm of rain compelled a postponement. The edifice is to be of brick, according to a plan both commodious and tasteful. It is intended that its cost shall not exceed fifteen thousand dollars. Four acres of land for its site have been given by Mr. Huidekoper. The generous endowment of the institution by its friends, in the West and in the East, has been well bestowed, and we may look for fair fruits from the undertaking.

Theological School at Cambridge. — The Annual Discourse before the members of the class graduating from the Theological School at Cambridge was delivered on Sunday evening, July 18, by Rev. Dr. Stebbins, President of the Meadville School. His theme was, The Bible, as the Final and Supreme Rule of Faith and Practice. He maintained in a vigorous and earnest course of argument that the Scriptures, viewed *historically, rationally, and ethically*, are sufficient to warrant the faith, to instruct the mind, and to sanctify the life of man. The Annual Visitation of the School took place on Tuesday, July 20, when, with prayers from the Professors and appropriate singing, dissertations were read as follows: — 1. Character of the Conversion of St. Paul, by Thomas W.

Brown. 2. The Influence of the Practice of Confession in the Church, by Rushton D. Burr. 3. Active Scepticism and Formal Indifference, by Sylvan S. Hunting. 4. Logic and Intuition in Relation to Faith, by James Jennison. 5. The Mission of the Comforter, by James R. McFarland. 6. The Doctrine of the Quietists respecting the Love of God, by Henry L. Myrick. 7. The alleged Opposition between Judaism and Christianity as Religions of Love and of Mercy, by James Pierce. 8. The Doctrine of Regeneration in Relation to Philosophy and the Scriptures, by Francis Tiffany. 9. Importance of the Church in Relation to Christian Faith and the Christian Life, by Edward Tuckerman. 10. The alleged Increase of Romanism at the Present Day, by Joseph B. Tufts. 11. Christ's Conception of his Kingdom, by Augustus W. Whipple.

The hearing of these dissertations gave great satisfaction to the friends of the School who were present. They indicated a faithful improvement of the rich opportunities which had been enjoyed for a thorough study of the Bible under able and conscientious teachers, and, while they drew out the usual variety of native gifts in the speakers, were all imbued with an earnest and reverential spirit. So sincere and deep was the gratification which these exercises afforded, that the Alumni in the afternoon passed a resolution expressive of their pleasure and of their confidence and good wishes as regards the institution. This expression of satisfaction was deserved by the Professors, to whom the spontaneous offering must be acceptable and cheering; it was also due to the School, which ventures, in spite of reproach from one quarter and coldness from another, to allow such entire freedom of religious investigation. Many comments have been made in Trinitarian papers on the fact, that one member of the class has recently adopted Calvinistic opinions, and has received the approbation of a Trinitarian Association of Ministers. Amid much boasting and triumph on this account, one religious journal has gone into some personal particulars concerning this matter which propriety forbids our criticizing. The main fact is, as represented, that a member of the School in the last year of his course has passed from the most extreme Rationalism in opinion to old-fashioned and unmitigated Calvinism. In his dissertation, he visited the force of his zeal and earnestness upon the moderate or diluted Calvinism of our day, and held all who depart from the most rigid principles of the Genevan Reformer as enemies to the faith. Though the theme is a tempting one, we forego all remark upon the fact, except as it illustrates the liberal and catholic character of the Theological School at Cambridge. Whatever a pupil, under the exercise of his mind and heart, his conscience and his spirit, applied to the search, finds to be the truth of God as revealed in the Bible, in life, in history, and in consciousness, constitutes the theology of that School. Pupils who desire it are not only permitted, but paid, to give themselves to the study of that truth. No pains or penalties wait on any issue from it. No signing of bonds or covenants, no withholding of certificates, no reclaiming of beneficiary funds, impairs the perfect freedom of the process, or embitters its result. We glory in that distinction of our School. We regard it as the very price and condition of Protestantism. We would rather raze the School to its foundations, and alienate its funds, than have that proud distinction qualified. We are confident that it is the only platform on which we can stand, and we know that no oth-

er method and condition of a theological education will leave the integrity and the healthfulness of a human mind secure. The founders of the School looked to precisely such results as it has realized. While they had their own convictions concerning Christian truth, which they were free to speak and able to vindicate, they were ready to give their funds to endow an institution where God's truth and the human mind should be brought into unfettered communion. Thirty years ago a case similar to that which has just occurred was the theme of much remark, and the pupils of the elder Professor Ware love to relate with what a beautiful candor he met an issue which was presented to him. A few years ago one graduate of the School entered the ministry among the Episcopalians, and another became a Swedenborgian minister, and both of them continue to discharge their duties with acceptance. Experience warrants our confidence in the School, and in its free principles and its generous endowments. Enough cases have occurred to show that Unitarian opinions are not necessarily adopted there, and that they are never required; while the instances in which students have rested in other views as the result of their inquiries are so rare, that the interests of Liberal Christianity have suffered but little, if at all, from the weapons which she has enabled her opponents to use against her. Even in this year's class it happens that Calvinism and Episcopacy had each had respectively the rigid previous training of at least one of its members. We do not know but that is true of others of the class who are now candidates for the ministry in our churches.

The measure referred and recommended to the Corporation by the Overseers of the College, for seeking through the chancery agency of the Supreme Court to effect a separation between the Theological School and the University, is in good hands, and is working towards a proper adjudication. It would have been desirable that a decision upon it should have been reached this summer, so that the question might not have been left in suspense at the opening of another academic year. The necessary documents have been prepared, and counsel has been engaged, and the intention was to have submitted the case to the court during its session last June; but the shortness of its session and the amount of its business caused a necessary delay.

The Annual Meeting of the Alumni of the Theological School took place in the afternoon, the Rev. Dr. Parkman in the chair. The officers of the last year were reëlected. In the absence of Dr. Putnam, the Discourse was delivered by the Rev. W. P. Lunt, D. D. It will appear in our next number. Dr. Putnam was again chosen as first preacher for the next year, and the Rev. Oliver Stearns of Hingham as second preacher.

Installations. — The Rev. J. J. Putnam was installed as Pastor of the Unitarian Church in Petersham, on Sunday, July 11th. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Luther Willson; Selections from Scripture, by the Rev. Mr. Harding of New Salem; Sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Hill of Worcester; Prayer of Installation, by the Rev. Mr. Harding; Welcome and Fellowship, by the Rev. Mr. Willson.

The Rev. E. B. Willson, late of Grafton, was installed as Pastor of the Unitarian Church in Spring Street, West Roxbury, on Sunday, July 18. Sermon, by the Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester; Prayer of Installation, by Professor Noyes of Cambridge.

The Rev. WILLIAM MOUNTFORD, recently of England, was installed as Pastor of the First Church in GLOUCESTER, on Tuesday, Aug. 3d. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. D. Clapp of Salem; Sermon, by the Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston; Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Burnap of Baltimore; Charge, by the Rev. C. T. Thayer of Beverly; Address to the Society, by the Rev. C. A. Bartol of Boston; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. T. S. King of Boston.

The Rev. GEORGE F. CLARK, recently of Warwick, was installed as Pastor of the First Congregational Society in NORTON, on Wednesday, Aug. 11th. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture, by the Rev. Mr. Whitwell of Easton; Sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Clark of Athol; Prayer of Installation, by the Rev. Dr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.; Charge, by the Rev. W. P. Tilden of Walpole, N. H.; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. Mr. Stephens of Mansfield; Address to the People and Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Brigham of Taunton.

Ordinations. — Mr. JAMES F. HICKS, a graduate of the Theological School at Meadville, Pa., was ordained as Pastor of the First Church in NEEDHAM, on Wednesday, July 14. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Ralph Sanger of Dover; Selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. Mr. Sewall of Medfield; Sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Lamson of Dedham; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. Thomas Hill of Waltham; Prayer of Ordination and Charge, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln; Address to the People, by the Rev. Dr. Gannett.

Mr. CHARLES LOWE, of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Associate Pastor of the First Congregational Church in NEW BEDFORD, on Wednesday, July 28. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. M. G. Thomas of New Bedford; Selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. J. G. Forman of Nantucket; Prayer of Ordination, by the Rev. C. H. Brigham of Taunton; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. T. S. King of Boston; Charge, by the Rev. Dr. Walker of Harvard College; Address to the Society, by the Rev. Dr. Peabody of Boston; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem.

OBITUARY.

DIED in Belfast, Me., June 24th, Rev. WILLIAM FROTHINGHAM, for nearly twenty-seven years pastor of the First Congregational Church in that place. Mr. Frothingham was born, March 14th, 1777, in Cambridge, Mass., received his education in the University of his native town, and was graduated in 1799. He was ordained in 1804, at Saugus, in which place he struggled with the difficulties of an incompetent support for about twelve years, when his pastoral connection was dissolved. His installation at Belfast occurred on the 21st of July, 1819, and he continued to exercise a peaceful and successful ministry in that town, till the state of his health, which had been some time declining, obliged him, in the spring of 1846, entirely to relinquish the duties of his office. Although in the remaining years of his life he suffered much from dis-

ease and infirmity, the faculties of his mind remained unimpaired, and he was able to take constant pleasure in his favorite occupation of reading. The enjoyment he derived from this source, together with his Christian equanimity, fortitude, and patience, gave serenity and tranquillity to the retirement of his last days.

The turn of his mind was historical and literary, rather than philosophical. He loved to talk of facts and of books, more than to discuss principles, and preferred to select from his extensive reading such opinions as seemed to him most rational and well founded, rather than to pursue profound independent inquiries. The size of his library, compared with the extent of his means, was a proof of his love of books. The carefulness with which the selection was made showed his judgment and good taste. His conversation, though in his latter years obstructed by his infirmities, and always perhaps, to some extent, by his natural diffidence, gave indications of the fidelity with which he had read, and the faithfulness with which his memory had retained the results of his reading. In his days of activity he was a man of great industry, method, and conscientious application. The diffidence that has been alluded to did not check occasional sallies of a genial humor, or prevent the formation of a solid attachment to him on the part of the people of his charge.

Mr. Frothingham entered the ministry at the time when the lines that divide Unitarians from other denominations of Christians were beginning to be distinctly drawn, and he took a decided stand on the Unitarian side. Yet it was his nature to follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another. He was little disposed to controversy. He chose rather to dwell on the great truths that underlie all forms of Christian belief, and constitute the common Christianity of contending sects. His preaching was practical and useful. His sermons, though not set forth with imposing oratory, attracted and rewarded attention. They were characterized by great variety both in the selection of subjects and the manner in which they were illustrated and enforced.

He did not confine his labors to the limits of his own parish and to the immediate duties of his ministerial office. He was ever ready to do good in the community in which he dwelt. At the period when ministers in that region were few and wide apart, he cheerfully answered the calls frequently made upon him, to go to a distance from home to render ministerial services. He was prompt to encourage and assist all efforts for promoting the moral, social, and intellectual improvement of the town. And he bequeathed to the community the legacy of his example, — the influence of a long, consistent, and unimpeachable life. He saw almost the whole of the flourishing village in which he lived grow up around him; he went in and out before a whole generation of the people; and the breath of censure never touched his character. One uniform testimony is borne to the purity and excellence of his life. His memory will be universally cherished with respect and love. They who best know him are his witnesses how holily and justly and unblamably he behaved himself among them.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1852.

Art. I. — THE FACULTY OF IMAGINATION IN ITS RELATIONS TO RELIGION.

An Address delivered before the Alumni of the Theological School a Cambridge, on July 20, 1852. By William P. Lunt.]

Gentlemen, Fellow-Alumni of the Theological School, and Associates in Sacred Studies: —

The revolving year has once more brought us together, from our several posts of study and of labor, to the scene of our early culture. We gather to this common centre to interchange the greetings and the reminiscences which are inspired by the place. The place is verily the same upon which our youthful eyes looked; but many who are associated in our minds with these halls of learning have passed from among the living. We are constrained to ask the indulgence of those who survive, while we confess that we miss the dead. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." And yet the heart, though relentless Time may substitute another for the first-born of its affections, cannot and will not withhold its blessing.

Among those whose familiar faces are no longer seen in our gatherings, our minds revert with a peculiar tenderness to one who has dropped out of our circle during the past year. If we were seeking for an example of the power

and beauty, as well as of the productiveness, of that truth which we prize, and which we deem it a privilege, according to the measure of our several abilities, to unfold and to advocate, where could we find such an example more likely to command the attestation of a general consent, than in the genius and virtues of William Ware?

As a teacher of morals and religion, he fulfilled his sacred office meekly and faithfully many years, appreciated highly by those whose favor is not easily secured, and only accorded to a rare union of worth and talent. Not his, indeed, that flame of soul and of speech which, like "the Fiery Cross" of the Highlands, is borne swiftly through the land, to rouse the true followers of Christ to do service for their Lord, — "Herald of battle, fate, and fear"; but in still and quiet places, where no gusty winds of passion caused the light to flare, his Christian candle shone, and revealed the beauty of the sanctuary.

In the department of letters and high art our lamented friend had achieved no common fame. It is but using the words of a foreign judge, herself familiar with the triumphs of the pen, to say that his "works, by their high aim and their fine execution, claim the respect of all."

And if we look at what he was, apart from the distinguished place he had gained for himself in the public estimation, and apart, too, from the services which he rendered to religion and to letters, we see a combination of sound thought, steady conviction, manly mildness, and Christian excellence, which reflects honor upon that portion of the Church in whose communion his character was nurtured, and to whose faithful keeping he has intrusted a spotless name.

On the fresh grave of our departed brother this humble tribute is laid in token of a friendship long and gratefully enjoyed.

And the mind passes easily from him whose idea has been affectionately called up, to the subject which has been chosen for our meditation on the present occasion. I propose to speak, as I may be able, of the Faculty of Imagination considered in its Relations to Religion, and of the uses to which it may and ought to be subservient in regard to faith, devout sentiment, conscience, and life.

Starting, in this discussion, with the assumption, that there can be no true and generous culture for man that does not recognize the religious element in his nature; that to regard man as a believing soul is to take a higher and worthier view of humanity than to esteem him a mere intelligence; that all sane thought must culminate in God; that worship is the master sentiment of the heart; and that "spirits are finely touched and to fine issues" only by that motive-power which comes from belief in things unseen, spiritual, eternal; — assuming this, I say, we must expect confidently to find ourselves endowed with faculties the chief use and design of which are religious. The outward senses with no greater certainty indicate the object for which they were given, than does man's mental and moral constitution point to and determine the relations he sustains to God. No one in a sane condition can hesitate to affirm that the eye was meant for seeing outward objects. The eye, like any other bodily organ, may be disordered, and in such disordered state will not convey to the mind true pictures of the external world. And the eye in a healthy state does yet need the education which use and experience and judgment give it, that it may transmit correct ideas concerning the figures of objects and their distances from the observer, and their relative place and magnitude in the picture which we survey. But still no one questions that the eye is made for seeing, and that it answers its intended purpose.

We may affirm the same of our internal vision. There is given to every human being a faculty to receive ideas concerning the spiritual world. This faculty is as worthy of credence as are the external senses. It is liable to diseases, many and mournful; and in its diseased state it conveys to the mind monstrous images. But this fact does not justify us in distrusting the ideas which grow out of this part of our constitution. The only evidence we have of the existence and reality of the material world is what we receive through the senses; and, in like manner, the only evidence we have of moral and religious realities is what we gain through our moral and spiritual constitution. The outward eye may be aided, and its power and range of vision may be wonderfully strengthened and enlarged,

by the telescope, which opens to us wonders of which, in its absence, we should have had no notion. So the inward vision of the soul may be rectified and extended by revelation, which is a telescope through which we look at the wonders of the spiritual world, and learn much concerning God, and the future life, and the soul's destiny, which unassisted reason would in vain have searched for. But still we must be convinced that, as the telescope would be of no use to a man blind or to a being who never had any organ of vision, so revelation would be of no avail were there not given to man a religious constitution, which enables us to employ for our benefit the extraordinary illumination and helps which Heaven has graciously furnished. So that, whatever theory any body of believers may see cause to entertain of Christianity, of its origin, its purposes, its credentials, or its doctrines, matters not so far as our present discussion is concerned. We may affirm, with some Christians, that this internal organization which man received in the beginning from the Creator was deranged and diseased at the Fall, so that what was designed to be, and at first actually was, an unerring guide, is now untrustworthy by itself. But few, if any, advocates of this theory of the fall of man would be disposed to press it so far as to deny the existence of all ability whatever. There remains, by common consent, the passive ability to be assisted by Divine illumination and influence. There is left in human nature, by the confession of all, some portion of its "original brightness" and purity, or salvation would not be even conceivable or desirable by us.

There are certain associations in men's minds that lead them to speak slightingly of the imagination, as though this faculty had no useful and holy ends to promote. What is imaginary is so often contrasted with what is absolutely true and real, that the practical man is inclined to conceive a quite low and unjust estimate of one constituent part of human nature. A lively imagination is commonly looked upon as the distinguishing attribute of youth, and is regarded as the opposite of mature, manly sense. The man of imagination, in the popular judgment, is one who pursues shadows, and builds castles in the air; who keeps aloof from the busi-

ness of the world; who weeps over fictitious descriptions of poverty and suffering, and trembles at scenic representations of distress, but when he meets with destitution and wretchedness in real life, turns away with disgust, or "passes by on the other side," and leaves the sufferer to his fate. He is usually described as one who knows nothing of the world's business; who, when placed in a situation that calls for action, shows himself awkward and undecided. He is a fine theorist, full of ideal plans for remodelling society, who thinks it perfectly easy to alter men's customs and eradicate their prejudices, and to introduce new institutions among a people, however alien they may be from the temper and actual condition of that people.

Through these prejudices it happens that the imagination, as a faculty of the mind, is undervalued. It is regarded at best only as a source of entertainment to the mind in its hours of relaxation, but as having no rightful relation to religion. Imagination is considered, with respect to the mind, much in the same way as the painted window of some ancient building, which conveys the light to those who are within in beautiful colors, but does not serve as a medium through which outward objects may be discerned in their true forms and positions.

It is important that such misconceptions as these should be corrected. "The faculty of imagination," to use the language of a modern philosophical writer, "is the great spring of human activity, and the principal source of human improvement. As it delights in presenting to the mind scenes and characters more perfect than those which we are acquainted with, it prevents us from ever being completely satisfied with our present condition, or with our past attainments, and engages us continually in the pursuit of some untried enjoyment, or of some ideal excellence. Hence the ardor of the selfish to better their fortunes, and to add to their personal accomplishments; and hence the zeal of the patriot and the philosopher to advance the virtue and the happiness of the human race. Destroy this faculty, and the condition of man will become as stationary as that of the brutes."

But imagination is not merely instrumental in pro-

moting the outward improvement and prosperity of men. It sets before the mind in lively colors the moral convictions of the understanding, and so moves the will to do what conscience dictates should be done. The principles of morality and the rules of right conduct, as they are formally deduced by our reasonings, are like the dry bones which the prophet saw in his vision. They have no life so long as they remain mere speculations in the intellect. But when the imagination acts upon them, they become "alive and powerful." Hence the advantage which the poet enjoys over the calm philosopher or the severe logician as a teacher of moral truth. In the language of an old English writer, "He doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will entice any man to enter into it; nay, he doth, as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste you may long to pass further."

In the Scriptures, both of the Old and of the New Testament, we find that pictures are presented to the imagination by allegory, parable, and other figures, in order that the heart may be touched and the conduct rectified. So much was this method of instruction employed by the Author of Christianity, that, as we read in the Record, "without a parable spake he not unto the multitude."

Moreover, inspiration was conveyed in ancient times, not through the discursive and generalizing intellect, but through the imagination. The inspired men who are famous in Bible story were seers. They saw visions, and they uttered boldly what they saw. Their office was to see, morally, spiritually, for the benefit of their countrymen. They lived aside from the active interests of the world, their minds being free from the cares and not agitated by the passions which were maddening the multitude about them, with few wants, simple habits, and a severe moral regimen. This training and such a mode of life kept their minds calm, clear, and well balanced, susceptible to impressions from the universe, from the annual changes of nature, from the current of passing events, from Providence, and from that higher action of the Divine Intelligence upon the human soul which we name inspiration.

The Hebrew prophets and moralists were seers. And this general way of indicating their office includes various particular functions. Sometimes it was foreseeing, as when they penetrated the veil that hides from mortal eyes coming events. Sometimes it was retrospect; for it was one among their various duties to look back and revive the memory of old transactions. Sometimes it was simple observation; their leisure and position apart from the busy throng enabling them to see some things which were hid from those who were enveloped in the dust and smoke of life's battle. Sometimes it was insight and intuition, as when they applied themselves to penetrate into the interior of any subject, and to discover its real nature. Sometimes it was such a vision of God and of the spiritual world as is given to the pure intellect in its higher moods, through faith, — the soul's eye, "the vision and the faculty divine."

Thus the Hebrew moralists and divines were appropriately named seers. They looked about them, and were impartial spectators of life on this earthly theatre. They looked upward and saw visions of God. They looked forward into eternity. All true and effective moralizing is prospective; it has respect to the recompense of reward or of punishment which is the result of good or bad conduct. They looked into men; noted their defects and their evil propensities; and they declared with an honest plainness what they saw. Finally, they looked into and studied the nature of things, man's nature, the complicated structure of human society, and the Divine nature; and they drew out and constructed, from their observations and meditations, a system of absolute truth and duty, a theology and a morality.

And we may say with as much truth as when the same was affirmed of old, — that "where there is no vision, the people perish." The best moral interests of any community require that there should be in that community a distinct body of men, who, by their training and culture, shall be the seers of their times. What the prophets were in Hebrew society are the literary men, the scholars, the thinkers, and especially the poets (who, by virtue of their gift and calling, ought always to be the moralists and divines indeed of their period), in our modern civilization. Leave out of the treasury of the

world's recorded wisdom all its imaginative literature, (and under the head of imaginative literature may be included, not merely what we call fictitious works, as contradistinguished from what is credible and authentic in point of fact, but every exhibition in prose, or in high epic narrative, or through fervid lyric strains, of pure ideal truth, whether the ideas have been gained by the unaided action of the human mind, or by supernatural communications,) and we may easily convince ourselves how greatly the world would be a loser in respect to its moral and religious interests. The image-seeing faculty is the believing faculty. This appears to be the great function for which this faculty was designed in the economy of human nature. The critical understanding may controvert and disallow every article of a positive creed. What then? This does not determine the question of religion. The soul, if true to itself, will not be the slave of the understanding. It will assert its rights, and believe in spite of the reason, which is, after all, a subordinate faculty, not the master-principle in man. The soul will have its ideals, notwithstanding the dogmatic questionings and denials of reason. And in order to moralize to any practical purpose, and with a view to enduring impressions upon the conscience and life, there must be opened to the believing faculty a vision of ideal truth. When the soul of any people enjoys no such ideal vision of God, of Providence, of a Divine Lawgiver, of immortality, of retribution, the conscience is enfeebled. All worldly motives, derived from things seen and temporal, are insufficient to put in activity man's higher powers and sentiments. The motive-force for this purpose must come from the unseen world. Faith may be likened to the pendulum which vibrates continually between the eternity of the past and the eternity of the future; and this it is that sets in motion and keeps in regular motion the springs of the soul, and causes to be indicated upon the dial-plate of conscience the duties of every hour.

But it is a great mistake into which the rationalist is apt to be betrayed, to suppose that faith is the result of logic. In the natural order of human development, the reasoning faculty is not the first to be unfolded. Imagination precedes the understanding in the order of time. We believe long before we submit our belief to the

scrutiny and sceptical analysis and revision of reason. "Faith," we read in Scripture, "is the evidence of things not seen." These words reverse the rationalistic method. The philosophy of the schools affirms that faith is the result of evidence. The spiritualism of the Bible takes a quite different view of the matter. Faith springs up spontaneously in the soul, and seems to be the product, according to the operation of a primary law of our spiritual constitution, of the relation which we sustain to the universe and to the Creator of all things; in the same manner as perception of material objects is the product of that relation which is fixed, by a law of our physical frame, between our minds and the external world. The proper and only evidence to us of the existence of the material world is our perception of it through the senses. And so faith is the proper and only evidence of things not seen. Again, the child's perceptions of outward objects are at first inexact and confused. By degrees the organs of perception gain strength, and judgment and experience rectify their impressions. The analogy holds here, too, in regard to the soul. The imagination is at first filled with ideas from the Infinite whole. These ideas are not clearly defined, but they are not, on that account, less impressive and awful. Grant that the mind as yet is in a chaotic state, by reason of such vast, unformed, dimly-lighted imaginings. Still a state of chaos in the mental, as in the material creation, precedes a state of order. Here are the materials lying in the mind "without form and void," out of which reason may construct a world full of beneficent arrangements and glorious beauty.

If, then, a human being could succeed in removing from his mind all the ideas on the subject of religion which he may have received from theological systems or by his own reasonings, and though he should call himself by none of the names by which sects and schools are designated, though he might deny and reject every article of every positive faith in Christendom, he is not necessarily an unbeliever; he is not, as a matter of course, an irreverent, irreligious man. He has parted with his opinions; but in the absence of these, his soul, even while it confesses that it knows not what to believe, and cannot express itself in logical or theological

formulas, is yet conscious of an unusual elevation, is profoundly serious, is filled with wonder and awe. It is possible, then, and what is not unlikely to occur, that the mind of an individual may be in such a condition as to demur to, and perhaps reject, every dogma which speculative theology can present; and yet, along with this intellectual scepticism, there may be a strong inclination towards religion, — a willingness to accept it without any exact statements and definitions, and to repose in its promises and hopes, — a craving for its enlightening, consoling, restraining influences, — and an assurance of its power to sanctify and to save.

For lack of attention to this natural order in which the religious ideas and affections are unfolded, great mistakes are frequently made in the education of the young, and serious injury inflicted on the souls of those who are commencing life. It is a cruel injustice and tyranny that would force upon the tender mind the stiff, hard, exact forms of belief which mature intellects have shaped for themselves. The effect of such a system of religious education is, as all know who had a taste in their childhood of the iron discipline of a Puritanical home, to disgust one to the whole subject of religion. The nature that has been so harshly treated in youth takes its vengeance afterwards, when it becomes its own master, by the most lawless opposition to that which it ought to love.

It is, for these reasons, a question whether it is wise or well ever to attempt, in the case of the young, to mould into any particular shape their thoughts on religion. Let the imagination, at that period, look at things in the large. Let the mind stock itself with ideas. Let the marvels of the universe make what impressions they will upon the fresh, wondering, susceptible mind. What does such a mind want of the prosy theologies and crabbed philosophies of the schools? Such things are needed, if at all, in some subsequent stage of the individual's progress. The questions, what special form his religion shall take, how much and exactly what articles his creed shall embrace, and whether this or that proposition is tenable on the ground of reason, — these are all matters for distinct consideration. Before such inquiries rise in the mind, that mind, if it have been unfolded naturally,

has been carried, by the influence of imagination, beyond the sphere of the senses, has laid hold of the unseen, the spiritual, the infinite, and has thus gained for itself the conviction that there is a real foundation for religion. And a rigid rationalism which should pronounce this state of mind to be of no value, and should persist in understanding faith as simple assent to evidence, or the reception into the mind of certain dogmas, would prove itself the worst enemy of faith, because it would be so little in harmony with the mixed nature of man.

It would be a groundless assumption, contradicted by all the facts of life and human experience, to suppose that a strong practical faith, such as human beings need to carry them through the trying exigencies of this world, can be the product of reason alone, without any aid from the imagination and the affections. The Scriptures encourage no such vain idea. They affirm that "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness." And the heart can be stirred and affected only by presenting truth in a lively form to the imagination. It has been the steady and all but universal conviction of the world, that symbols are needed to assist the action of the mind; that there must be consecrated places, and an external service, in order to make the convictions of the understanding permanent and effective. The Christian Church aims not only to furnish weekly instruction for men's minds, but through the eucharist secures a real presence of Christ among his followers. What can mere abstractions do to excite devout sentiments? The philosopher's abstraction of a law or system of laws has no power over men. The idea of God must be brought before the mind in a personal shape, in order that it may exert any influence upon the life. The image of a Father in heaven which Christianity furnishes is such a distinct personality, and presents an object to which the faith and affections of the soul are drawn, and upon which they repose with satisfaction.

The need of some mental figure to give vividness and practical power to men's faith is illustrated in the religion of the Jews. It is true that the Hebrew law expressly forbade all graven images, all visible representations of the Deity, and this it did in order to guard the Israelites against the impurities of idolatry. But the

Hebrew religion did not condemn all exercise of the imagination. It did not forbid all mental images of God. The Jewish Scriptures, especially the writings of the prophets, abound in such images, by which they seek to aid the conceptions and vivify the faith of the worshipper. One of the familiar and favorite modes of conceiving of God, employed in the Scriptures, is as a word or voice. The images that come to the mind through the ear were not liable to the same perversions as those which are gained through the eye. Sound is fugitive, and cannot be represented by any visible semblance. It may be recalled to the mind by written alphabetical characters. But this instrument of thought and symbol of sound does not result from any natural relation of the sign to the thing signified. It is an arbitrary method of notation, adopted for convenience, to facilitate the intercourse of one mind with another. The characters of written speech are not imitations, like picture-writing, of any outward objects. If they were, they might have been employed for idolatrous purposes. And therefore, in calling God the Word, and teaching the Hebrews to conceive of the Deity under this image, the Scriptures appealed to the imagination, while at the same time they avoided the danger of leading to idolatry.

Moreover, music was encouraged by the Hebrew religion. The Psalms have furnished fit language for the utterance of devotional sentiment in every period since the time when they were originally composed. And music exerts an influence, not only upon the heart, in inspiring devout emotions, but also upon the imagination, as was shown when it was proposed to the Hebrew exiles in Babylon, by their haughty conquerors, to sing one of their sacred songs. The proposal brought before them the image of their lost country, of their forsaken altars, and of the invisible object of their homage, and drew from them the pathetic exclamation, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"

The figurative style of the Scriptures furnishes additional proof how much the imagination has been relied upon in the religious culture of mankind. Neither in the writings of the Old Testament, nor in those of the New, do we meet with philosophical statements of moral truth. Nothing like a creed or summary of belief is fur-

nished in the Bible. We find figurative expressions of moral and religious ideas. Christianity adapts itself in this respect to the minds of men, which are most powerfully and usefully impressed by truth when it is presented, not in an abstract, but in a concrete form. Christ, considered as a teacher, did not reason with men. He drew up no system of well-connected opinions. He published no table or tables of moral precepts. If he would answer the practical question, "Who is my neighbor?" he did not discourse upon the subject in a dry, didactic manner. But he uttered a parable. He drew a picture from real life, and left the picture, thus presented to the imagination, to make what impression it might upon the heart. Moreover, we find that in the Christian records the Author of our faith is always personally connected with what he taught. The Scriptures do not furnish a body of well-compacted abstract truth, theological and moral,—a Christianity which may be separated from Christ, and which may be adopted in this abstract form by the mind. The positive and remarkable words of the Master are,—"I am the way, the truth, and the life." "Abide in me, and I in you." "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me." He seems to have anticipated that the power of his religion to affect the souls, and to influence and mould the lives of men, would be diminished by the attempts that would be made to reduce it to a body of doctrines or laws.

But although Christ, instead of giving to the world a theology in the philosophical or scholastic sense, addressed himself to the catholic ideas and sentiments that belong to all human souls, systems almost without number have been built upon his words. Articles the most abstruse in character, and the most contrary to each other, have been deduced by an honest, or wrested by a perverse logic, from the simple language of the Great Teacher. The same effect is produced by this mode of treating Christian truth, as if the chemist should undertake to analyze a rose, in order to satisfy the mind that is curious to know the nature and composition of this flower. The process yields perhaps a little powder and a little gas. Are we satisfied with the rose in this abstract form? Is there any beauty in the result that we should

desire it? Has it any fragrance to gratify the sense? And is there in the chemist's possession any skill that will teach him to reverse the process, to put together the separated elements, and to restore the blooming, scented flower which has been spoiled, that we may get at the secret of its nature?

In like manner philosophy may analyze the faith of the soul; may take it to pieces, resolve it into its constituent elements, and show of what it is composed. But in this abstract form it is worthless; and to reconstruct the concrete faith of the unsophisticated mind, and to restore it to that freshness and living power which it had before it was tampered with by philosophy, is no easy task.

The declaration of our Saviour, that his disciples must become as little children if they would enter into the kingdom of heaven, is as true in regard to faith as to the innocence, docility, and purity of which a little child is the symbol. The imagination is unfolded at an earlier period than any other faculty of the mind. Long before the human being learns to generalize and reason, the child receives upon his impressible fancy images of the outward world, as well as of moral and religious truth in a concrete shape. That catholic model of Christian devotion contained in the Lord's Prayer is as easily adopted by the young, as it is sufficient to express the wants and feelings of the mature soul. And the philosophical thinker, if he would be a practical Christian, must humble himself intellectually, and be willing to receive the simple truth in that concrete shape in which it finds admission into the fresh heart of childhood.

The same important principle is illustrated in the mythologies of different countries, especially in the graceful mythology of Greece. Absurd as these fables must appear when regarded in the light of narratives demanding the credence of rational worshippers, and impure and demoralizing as are some of the ideas which they stamp upon the fancy, they yet afford sufficient proof that abstract truth, truth stripped, by the dissecting intellect, of flesh and blood and all semblance of life, does not satisfy the cravings of the soul; in fact, it has no power over men, except in the case of the very few whose minds are prepared by a special training to appreciate general ideas.

Again, the imagination not only demands that moral truth be presented in a concrete shape, that it be changed from pure spirit into a palpable form and body, that God should be "manifest in the flesh," — but it also loves mystery, and is powerfully impressed by objects seen in a twilight indistinctness. And although it were folly to draw a veil again over those subjects which have been clearly revealed, as some theologies have sought to do, yet there will always remain obscurity enough to baffle and to humble human inquiry, and to magnify the awful forms that flit before us, half revealed and half hidden in the mists that envelop us. Mysticism must, therefore, always be one element of human faith. While the special tendency of the Oriental mind to mysticism is apparent throughout the Scriptures, it is true that all great minds have conceived *aliquid immensum infinitumque*, and this vague, undefined idea has kept the wonder and reverence of the soul unexhausted, and its efforts unrelaxed. There is more in the soul's idea of God than ever has been, or than can be, expressed in any formula of theology or in any figure of speech. Sufficient as are the conceptions which the Scriptures furnish of God, and especially the Christian conception of a Father in heaven, for all the practical exigencies of a mortal condition, there are yet moods of thought which prompt us to exclaim, "To whom will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?"

And further, it is not aside from our purpose to consider in this connection that this imaginative mysticism has often had the effect to rescue the soul from entire shipwreck of faith. The sceptical critic of history and the philosophical reasoner may stagger and be at their wit's end; but faith does not live by wit or wisdom alone. If the heart be in a sound state, and the imagination have been unfolded aright, the soul need not be cast out into utter darkness. The imagination is always a supernaturalist. It invents more miracles than have ever been authenticated. And even if the record of all attested wonders should be discredited, the imagination would teem with prodigies. To the soul that earnestly wishes to believe, but yet hesitates, doubts, denies, the imagination brings succor, and preserves that faith which man must have, or perish. And when infidelity is the

result of an evil heart of unbelief, that would sin and yet avoid the penalty of sinning, imagination furnishes the conscience with instruments of torture, and forces upon the soul the avenging horrors of superstition. And if I may be pardoned for expressing an opinion upon a subject on which many of my hearers must be far more accurately informed than myself, I will venture to remark that the state of religious thought in Germany, among earnest, serious inquirers, illustrates the method which the human mind will perforce adopt to save itself from the desolation of irreligion, and to maintain itself in a reverent attitude. The German mind, set free by the Reformation, rushed wildly into speculation, criticizing with amazing penetration every system of opinion, questioning every thing, and finally rejecting every positive form of belief. But the German mind is at the same time religious; and, to satisfy this religious craving, many thinkers have discontinued the exercise of reason, and have resorted to the imagination. They have fallen back from all positive systems upon those ideas and sentiments which belong naturally to all minds. A cloudy mysticism has received to its friendly protection those who were ready to be overcome by the doubts and denials which pursued and had wellnigh destroyed the soul. This mysticism indicates the condition of a mind that has tried and rejected every thing that can be offered in a distinct shape to the intellect, and which is no longer willing to venture upon any positive statement that may be scrutinized either by its own logic, or by the logic of other minds. Rapt in wonder, it lies still with open vision, and muses with awe upon what it cannot comprehend, and will not any longer critically examine.

In addition to what has been offered, I remark that the most efficient forms of religious belief, and the most influential denominations of Christians, have ever been those which have provided most carefully for the culture of the imagination and of the affections. It is no disparagement to the great and learned men who, from time to time, have illustrated the history of the English Church, — the Hookers, Barrows, Taylors, Butlers, — to say, that they have contributed, with all their power of reasoning and stores of learning, far less to promote a true Christian faith among the members of that com-

munion, than the Liturgy, which has been repeated, in venerable edifices and amidst holy symbols, from one Lord's day to another, by the worshippers of that Church. So, too, in regard to that large portion of the Protestant Church to which we belong, we may affirm that the hymns of Watts, the allegory of Bunyan, and the fervid devotional writings of Baxter and Doddridge, have done more than all the arguments of the most profound reasoners to nourish the faith of this large division of the Christian body. And a similar remark might with truth be extended to the Roman Church. The genius and eloquence of such men as Fénelon, Bossuet, and Pascal have done but little towards maintaining a Christian faith in the popular mind, compared with the impression made by the Mass, and by the other spectacles provided by that Church, upon the imaginations of its members.

Moreover, the influence of imagination may be traced in those systems in which it is least suspected to operate. Calvinism and Puritanism, according to the common judgment, appeal to the intellect exclusively. When we look at the dogmatic side of Puritanism, it appears to us to be a mass of mere abstractions. And our only wonder is, that such abstruse, metaphysical speculations concerning the nature of God, and the vexed questions growing out of the Divine decrees and man's free-will, could ever have been made popular, and that Jonathan Edwards, with his crabbed philosophy, should actually have been more of a favorite in the farm-houses of New England than in the schools of learning, where, it would seem, such authors exclusively belong.

But positive and dogmatical as Calvinism is, the "hiding of its power" is not here. It appeals to the imagination with a terrible power, such as no other system of belief has exerted in modern times. No one can read the history of New England (which, it must be confessed, is not so much an inviting as an instructive branch of study), or call up in his memory the ideas that were current in his boyhood, without perceiving how much the imagination had to do with the religion of our Puritan ancestors. The grim spectres that met them everywhere, frightful exaggerations and perversions of truth, were no mere speculations that might be taken up or dismissed at will by the inquisitive mind. They were

visions assuming awful, as well as grotesque and fantastic shapes. No impression is more distinctly given to the reader's mind by the history of New England, than a conviction of the extent to which wise and grave and venerated as well as venerable men were under the dominion of imagination. The most absurd and mischievous, not to say devilish, fancies took possession of their minds. The wicked scenes of witchcraft never could have been enacted among a less imaginative people. Cotton Mather's brain was all alive with maggots. He might have said of his style, which was doubtless a true index of his mind, —

> "Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
> Hhree-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
> Figures pedantical, these summer flies,
> Have blown me full of maggot ostentation."

But he could not with truth have added, in the poet's words, —

> "I do forswear them; . . . . .
> Henceforth my . . . . . mind shall be expressed
> In russet yeas, and honest kersey noes."

He was so much under the power of his whimseys, that he was not capable of entertaining a sound, sensible thought in his understanding long enough to derive any permanent benefit from it. It is certainly a matter of congratulation, that Cotton Mather, and such as he, who represent the absurd side of the New England character, have died out. It would be a great calamity if such minds should be reproduced. We may say what we will, in our ingenuity, or in our pride of ancestry, or, what is better, in our charity, to explain or to apologize for such very peculiar specimens of humanity; but the point must be conceded, that no one of us would like to have Cotton Mather for a neighbor or for a spiritual guide.

The spiritual world was as vividly present to the mind of the Puritan as the outward world was to his senses. If we think it is the exclusive prerogative of our day to see a living spirit in the legs of tables, as Ezekiel saw a living spirit in the wheels of his vision, we make a mistake. There is no extravagance of our times which may not be matched or exceeded even by somewhat recorded in the history of our fathers.

The power which the imagination exerted over the

Puritan mind and acts is exhibited more favorably (because here it was overruled by Providence to promote a good end) in the case of Cromwell and his men of war. The famous army of the Protector was made the mighty engine it was for beating down a throne that had stood for centuries, not by reasoning, not in consequence of the training gained in any polytechnic school, but by the enthusiasm which religion, acting through the imagination, inspired.

Indeed, the imaginations of men were in a peculiarly active state in the latter part of the sixteenth and early portion of the seventeenth centuries. The common force moved differently constituted natures in different directions, and to different objects. Men of active, practical bent were roused to undertake great enterprises, the chief of which, in that period, grew out of the exploration and colonization of distant and newly found territories. In the Church, as we have seen, it made terribly distinct the phantasms of the spiritual world, and palsied men's minds with fear as frequently as it inspired them with courage and hope. In political speculations it led theorizing minds to dream of social organizations, such as had no archetype in the world's experience. Their ideal commonwealth was after the pattern of Gonzalo's. "No name of magistrate" therein; "no occupation"; "no sovereignty."

> "All things in common nature should produce,
> Without sweat or endeavor; treason, felony,
> Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
> Would (they) not have."

In practical politics the influence of the imagination was seen in the boldness with which men laid their hands upon time-cemented institutions, and the ease with which they took up and tossed about thrones and dynasties as very little things; and in the realm of letters it inspired the art of Shakspeare to create an Ariel and a Prospero, and to place the scene of his Tempest in the Atlantic, whither all eyes were at that time turned. "Come to these yellow sands" was, in fact, the call of many-voiced Destiny, summoning the far-sighted and stout-hearted of the period to the seat of future empire and of Christian civilization in these ends of the earth.

The influence of imagination upon morals is as real and striking as upon faith and worship. The fact is sufficiently verified in the history of opinion, that a people's conception of God will depend very much upon their predominant temper. A warlike people will worship a martial divinity, and will conceive of their departed heroes drinking the wine of Elysium out of the skulls of their enemies. A sensual and licentious people will rear altars to Aphrodite and to Bacchus. And, in return, such objects of popular regard will rouse the malevolent passions, inflame the appetites, and furnish a sanction for cruelty, impurity, and excess. The evil commences with the imagination, and that faculty being corrupted, the mischief is accomplished. Could Satan but have succeeded in inducing Christ to fall down and worship him, by the substitution of so foul an image in the place of the Father of light and the God of truth and holiness his object in the temptation of the Blessed One would have been gained. And from this memorable instance we pass readily to the general truth, that public virtue depends quite as much, in every age, upon the image stamped upon the popular mind by the object of homage, as upon any abstract rules of morality, fortified though they be by the most convincing arguments.

There were not wanting among the ancients philosophers as keen and subtle in the use of dialectics, as persuasive in their rhetoric, as ingenious and attractive in their method of presenting moral subjects, as the world has ever known. And there were a select few who sat at the feet of these severe moralists, and whose minds were open for the reception of their teachings. But what could Plato, or Socrates, or Zeno, or any other sage, do to withstand or to correct the influence of the popular mythology, which assigned a god or a goddess to symbolize and to hallow every malevolent and every sensual passion that can possess man's heart? A visit, during any hour of the day, to the Pantheon, would bring before the eyes of a susceptible Greek forms personating every variety of impure and evil passion in all the beauty that art could invent. These images, that were ever afterwards to be darlings of the waking and of the sleeping fancy, Socrates or any other philosopher would in vain endeavor to displace by calm

appeals to reason. The morals of the times were fixed, as they always are, through the medium of the imagination, and the logic of the schools could ill contend against this.

And it might well raise a sneer upon the lip of a Mephistopheles who should enter a modern Christian university, to be informed that it is given in charge to Cudworth, or to Butler, or to some such logician, with his eyes turned inward upon himself, to prepare an antidote for the immoral images which Homer, Horace, Ovid, looking right into the eyes of the young, and uttering themselves in most harmonious strains, stamp for life upon genial and impressible natures.

It was remarked by one who presided for a brief period over this seminary of learning, on assuming the charge of its interests: "I cannot subdue the feeling, that our modern Christendom, with all its professions and in all its communions, is sinking into a practical heathenism, which needs a great work — I had almost said, a new dispensation — of reform, scarcely less than the decrepit paganism of Greece and Rome. Christians as we are, we worship, in America and in Europe, in the city and the field, on the exchange and in the senate, and, must I not add, in the academy and the church, some gods as bad as those of the Pantheon."

Happily, St. Paul, when walking through ancient Athens, amidst the crowd of altars abounding in that splendid capital of paganism, found one with this inscription, "To the Unknown God"; expressing a remarkable confession, wrung from the Greek mind in spite of its pride, that there were attributes in the Divine nature not yet discovered, perhaps not discoverable by the wit or wisdom of unregenerate man, and which the plastic art, which their inventive genius had carried to the highest point of perfection, could not embody and express. Here, then, was an opening, through which the new doctrine of Christ might find admission among the national ideas. A vacant niche was discovered in the national imagination, in which might be set up the image of a purer, holier Divinity. And perhaps, in like manner, in modern Christian universities there may be found some altar to an unknown god, which, not being preoccupied, may be inscribed, Τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν.

As an additional illustration of our subject, consider that law of man's intellectual and moral nature, according to which his conceptions are ever in advance of his attainments. We can always picture to ourselves a degree of perfection in the arts of life which no acquired skill will enable us to reach, let us be as expert and assiduous as we may in our particular work. We can always imagine a condition more happy and more desirable than any we have succeeded in reaching, let our lot be never so fortunate. We can always ideally improve upon whatever character comes under our observation in the actual world. Let the individual whom we admire, or respect, or love, be endowed with all the virtues that ever show themselves in human nature, still we can discern a defect here and a defect there; and, in our judgment, the character would be more nearly complete if certain other qualities were added. Thus it is that man's attainments never come up to his conceptions. It is not intended that they should. The plan of the Creator, as indicated in the nature which he has bestowed upon us, would be frustrated if the fact were other than it is. We can satisfy ourselves, beyond a question, why we were so constituted, and what great moral purpose was designed to be promoted by this law of the mind. What could move a human being to the vigorous exertion of his faculties, and sustain him in continued action, notwithstanding many obstacles, and successive defeats, and temptations, from within and from without, to give over effort, — what, but the image in the mind of some good which he earnestly desires, and which he therefore makes strenuous endeavors, at whatever cost, to obtain? The principle we are considering is exhibited in the Saviour's parable of the pearl of great price. Its beauty was so rare and inviting, that the merchantman is represented as selling all that he had that he might buy it.

The law of man's nature, that his attainments never reach his conceptions, is especially, though not exclusively, illustrated in the case of the painter, the sculptor, the poet, the musician. No person, who does not forget what he has already accomplished in these arts, gives promise of any great achievement in the future. It is one of the singular facts in regard to men of a high

order of genius, that they are never satisfied with what they have done. The product of their art, be it a painting, or a poem, or a composition in music, falls so far below the image in the mind which they endeavored to body forth or express, that the effect upon themselves is quite likely to be disappointment, if not a still stronger feeling of dislike. And so the artist not unfrequently turns away from the work upon which, perhaps, he has been meditating and laboring for years, and is glad to shut his eyes or his ears upon that which may be delighting multitudes. No doubt this fastidious, self-criticizing habit which is generated by genius is often morbid. But it proves all that we adduce it to prove, that while man's power of execution is limited, his power of imagination is unlimited, and from this fact the world receives assurance of new wonders yet to be wrought by creative art.

Consider, also, how the same principle operates in modifying man's social condition. If we were made, like the lower order of animals, to be content with our condition, the noblest efforts which history has to record of the patriot and philanthropist would be wanting. All progress in human civilization, from the savage state up to the highest point yet reached of Christian improvement, depends upon the power which the human mind possesses of picturing to itself an order of things, social arrangements, institutions, forms of government, more complete, more conducive to the strength, peace, happiness of a community, than any now known in the world. The reformer keeps his eye steadily fixed upon these possible improvements in the science of social and political life. He burns, with a longing which nothing can satisfy but experiment, to realize what he imagines. He concerts with others of like feelings and views a system of efforts to accomplish what he so passionately desires. He spends his best years, perhaps, in these efforts, and yet fails to reach the end for which life has been — I will not say — wasted. For if he has not succeeded, it is because the world was not ready for the improvement which he proposed. His efforts and sacrifices will not, in the great plan of Providence, have been in vain. He has at least furnished the pattern of good things to come, by which some more successful agent,

in a more propitious period, may be aided to accomplish the proposed end.

It seems to be essential to the completion of God's idea and plan of man's life, that there should be in the world a class of dreamers, theorists, poets, schemers, whose working brain, prolific of inventions, shall teem with new modes of life, new varieties of condition, new patterns of society, new forms of government. Let them continue to see visions and to dream dreams. They have their place in the economy of human life. They have a work given them to do for their fellows and for their Master. They may themselves be martyrs in the accomplishment of that work. What then? The scroll of fame is ever a rubric inscribed with blood-red characters. But they are instruments in the hands of a Divine Providence, and others who come after them will enter into their labors. Their dreams in some happy period in the future will come to pass. Whatever is conceivable by man is possible with God. What the best minds in our day see in vision, and labor for fruitlessly, will in some future age be granted to the prayers and efforts of the race. What though heart after heart may beat with hope in vain, and only cease to hope when it ceases to beat? Other hearts will desire the same good. And at length the fulness of time will have come, and human hopes, which are always prophecies, will be verified. There is always a promised Messiah waited for by the human mind; a "day of the Lord" is always expected to dawn upon the world; a "kingdom of God" is looked for by every generation to be established among the abodes of mortal men, when perfect justice shall prevail, when wars shall cease, when there shall be "nothing to hurt or destroy in God's mountain." These are the visions that cheer the hearts of the good. When we compare with the actual condition of the world such visions of good which the human mind can entertain, and which the zealous possessor of them is too apt to forget that it requires centuries to make realities, we learn with wonder — an instructive, though it may be a humbling wonder — the contrast that exists between our conceptions and our best attainments. We are led to reflect what a disproportion there is between the plans and

projects which the human imagination can devise, and the brief term assigned for action to the individual in this world. He who can design such far-reaching changes is actually hemmed in and confined to the narrowest limits. While his mind can wander through eternity, and traverse all space, his presence is circumscribed, and his years are few and soon numbered. If he move forward but a little, he comes to the edge of a precipice, and one step more plunges him into an abyss which cannot be fathomed. He reaches out one hand and can touch the cradle in which infant life was rocked; with the other hand he can touch the grave where he will soon fall asleep without need of rocking.

But it is deserving of notice, that the disproportion between our ideas and our performances is greater than is required for any uses pertaining to this world. And beyond the point where the realization of man's conceptions ceases to be possible lies the vast region of religious ideas. The senses and our own consciousness acquaint us with a variety of beings having different faculties and modes of life. At the head of those creatures which inhabit the earth is man. But nothing forbids us to form an idea of superhuman modes of existence. We are indeed prompted by a law of our minds to form such an idea. Taking our own conscious being as a nucleus for the idea, we can enlarge this indefinitely, add to it attributes which do not belong to ourselves, remove from it all the imperfections incident to mortal existence, imagine it without beginning of days or end of years, and the result is the conception of God, the Omnipresent, Omniscient, Eternal Author of the universe. We are made capable of conceiving in our minds this grand, inspiring, comforting truth. Is there no archetype of the idea?

Again, we can form an image of a condition of conscious life far more complete, satisfactory, blissful, than the most favored lot of man on the earth ever presents. We can construct in our minds, or receive from others, the vision of a world out of which all evil is excluded, — a world where pain and bereavement and death are not known, — a world in which moral evil, sin, has no permission to exist, — a New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven, such as inspired eyes saw

in Patmos. We can form such an idea. We should not be employing our minds faithfully, if we neglected to gain such a conception. This ideally perfect condition is heaven, — an idea which has ever occupied an important place in men's religious belief. It cannot plainly be realized here upon the earth, where woes and crimes abound. It is an earnest, then, given by Him who fashioned us, that a better life is in reserve for man, and that, "as we have borne the image of the earthly, so we shall also bear the image of the heavenly."

Or, finally, we may consider the connection of imagination with conscience. Here, too, we observe the same law in force, — that our conceptions shall ever be in advance of our attainments. The ideal and the actual here also expand or contract the mind. We can either contemplate absolute rectitude, the eternal righteousness of God; or we can limit our mental vision to that amount of good which is possible in this world, which can be reduced to objective reality. The moral conceptions which the human soul is capable of forming are a vast ideal fund, perpetually drawn upon by successive generations in their efforts to attain unto the true good of man, but never exhausted. We should do our souls a wrong, if we did not study this ideal morality, if our consciences were not inspired and fortified by the vision of perfect justice and truth. But we must remember, that, though our souls may meditate upon absolute rectitude and our consciences may be fortified by the study, the theatre on which we are placed to act and to apply our principles is a mixed scene, complicated by the passions of human society, and that the visions of the theoretical moralist cannot be realized on earth, certainly not at once.

I have submitted to you, gentlemen, such thoughts as have occurred to me on the subject of imagination, considered in its religious aspects, in connection with faith and spiritual culture.

There are seasons, periodically recurring in the experience of our race, when the condition and prospects of religion look dark. Many at such times lose heart and hope. Institutions, perhaps, under whose influence we have been bred, and by which the routine and habit of our daily life have been adjusted, fall into decadence.

Forms of worship which have nourished our devout sentiments from childhood may be laid aside, or, what is worse, may remain only to be treated with indifference and neglect. Doctrines that we once associated, or, it may be, identified with religion, lose their power over the minds of men, and are questioned or denied.

Let us bear in mind, for our encouragement, that theology and religion are not identical. One may perish, and the other survive. Theology is the product of the clearest and largest thought that was directed to this branch of study at the time when the system was elaborated; and being necessarily imperfect, it must fail, in any one form, to satisfy the minds of men, as they advance from one stage of culture to another. One system, therefore, of theology passes away, and another succeeds. But religion — that "light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" — is never extinguished; nor should its prospect be blended in our judgment with the precarious fortunes of any form of doctrine, or any philosophy of faith. As long as imagination remains an essential element of man's nature, here is an inexhaustible receptacle of religious ideas, and these ideas will never cease to be reproduced. And the office of reason seems to be, to construct, from the materials thus furnished, and of which the supply never can fail, some new system of religious thought, to take the place of old ones, as they cease to maintain their influence, and become obsolete.

I do not deny that theology is important, and that it has an office to fulfil that bears upon the best interests of humanity. Right opinions upon the highest subject of thought are as much needed as fervent emotions and sound principles. Only let theology have its true place assigned to it. It is the philosophy of religion, and belongs exclusively to the intellect. It is opinion worked into a system. Theology is necessary as the casket is needed to hold the jewel, or as the frame in which the picture is set, or as the bones, sinews, muscles, and skin in the animal frame are needed to furnish a protection for the inner and more delicate vessels in which the life of the body is lodged. A theology is essential to serve as a nucleus about which the faith, hopes, fears, sentiments, principles, of human souls may gather. We see

an illustration of this in the wild, aimless endeavors of honest minds at the great breaking up of Christendom at the Reformation, and again at the time of the French Revolution. The same need of a philosophical system is indicated in the transcendental irregularities of thought and fancy in our own day. It were well if these "wandering stars" could be brought within the attraction of some central sun, whose influence should give precision and fixedness to their course, and from which light should stream in all directions.

But it is a truth upon which we cannot shut our eyes, that theology may, and sometimes does, exist without religion. A doctrinal system which was devised to give shape to the sincere convictions of a particular period may remain in the words of a creed, and may be assented to from courtesy, and yet be a dry trunk, without life, with no power to bear fruit, fit only to be burned. At such junctures in the history of the soul, when a necessity is indicated for some new efforts to revive the spiritual life of society, we are thrown back upon first principles. We must retreat from the old fabrics which man's hands have framed, and betake ourselves to the God-inspired, enduring ideas and sentiments of the soul. Christianity is identical with those simple, original ideas and sentiments. Christianity is moral and religious truth reduced to its elements. A Christian writer has described, by a happy figure, the corruptions to which this truth was exposed, after it was communicated to the world in all its purity by its Author. "A clear and unpolluted fountain, fed by secret channels with the dew of heaven, when it grows a large river, and takes a winding course, receives a tincture from the various soils through which it passes." It is refreshing to follow back the stream to that fountain-head, and drink of the water which is there "springing up" and imparting "everlasting life" and verdure and beauty to its brim.

The ark of Israel's covenant was lodged in a tabernacle, until the time came to erect, for its safe and honorable keeping, a more substantial and permanent and glorious structure. Religion is such a covenant made with the human soul by Him to whom all souls belong. Its truths, its promises, its commandments, were written originally by the finger of God upon the "fleshly tables

of man's heart"; and when those lines and characters were defaced or obscured, they were traced and restored to their early distinctness by the Son of God. It may not be given in charge to our generation to build the theology in which the ark of this covenant shall be reposed. The office which Providence assigns to us may be only to collect the materials which it must be left to the constructive minds of another age to fashion into a sanctuary where the Shekinah may dwell. Let us at least be faithful and jealous guardians of the covenant itself.

What is most to be feared is, that, in passing from one such period to another, in the transition interval after the old theology has lost its power over men's minds, and before any new system has been formed, the unreflecting portion of society, identifying what is transient with what is permanent, should contract a low, earthly habit of thought, be content to walk by sight and not by faith, distrust all truth that cannot be verified by the evidence of the senses, and look upon the world and upon human life in the world rather with a view to the material uses they may serve, than for the sake of the virtues they are designed to unfold. To break up this bad habit of mind, the imaginations of men must be addressed. They must be familiarized to objects which can be discerned only with the "mind's eye." And this work of disenthralling men from the mean slavery of the senses is not — cannot be — limited to those who professionally have the care of souls. Every artist, every instructor of youth, every writer who can secure the public ear, and especially every true poet, who has been made a seer himself by the all-enlightening Spirit, and to whom has been given the power to make others see the beauties and the glories which are not disclosed to sense, may do a good service in such a crisis for humanity and for God.

Come, then, all upon whom has been bestowed any power to address the higher nature of man, and to touch and move the more latent springs of life in the soul, — come to the work which waits to be performed. Contribute your influence to fill up the void which a denying, destructive scepticism has created. Throw open the narrow inclosures within which a poor logic would confine thought. Vindicate the freedom of the soul, and

secure an infinite range for the exercise of its activity. Transform the crawling worm of materialism into a winged creature, and let it fly upwards to heaven. Win men back from exclusive devotion to earthly science, which cares only for the life that perisheth, to a glorious supernaturalism, to those verities which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart clearly conceived, but which ever have been and ever will be objects of faith and love to the immaterial, immortal spirit in man. Come, if it must be, with extravagance, and startle men, by wonder or by fear, out of that grovelling worship of Mammon which is effacing from the mind of our country every noble and disinterested sentiment, and which is changing "the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

ART. II. — THE EDUCATION OF THE PUBLIC TASTE.*

IT is with mournful satisfaction that we take the title of the periodical named below as a fitting preface to the subject of this article. We are thus enabled to pay a tribute of sincere respect to the genius of its late editor, A. J. Downing, who, as our readers already know, — for his reputation was wide as the country, and his death everywhere felt by those acquainted with his writings to be a public loss, — was one of the victims of the tragedy of the Henry Clay. An observer and student, at home and abroad, of every thing relating to his delightful profession, no individual, probably, has contributed more largely than he to the improvement of the public taste; and the appropriate monuments that will "keep his memory green" are the many lovely rural scenes and residences he adorned and planned. Of the goodly company who have acknowledged the need of obeying, in the midst of the marvellous material growth of the land, the apothegm of Goethe, — "We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encour-

* *The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste.* Vol. VII. No. XI. September, 1852. Albany: Luther Tucker & Co.

ages itself," — Mr. Downing, though comparatively a young man, was an enthusiastic pioneer and a most efficient laborer. He had done enough for his own fame; but the more that he would have accomplished is a loss to the community.

Outward life is a manifestation of inward life. A motion of the arm, an expression of the countenance, has its origin in an exercise of the will, or in some thought or feeling which passes over and quickens the soul. To discover, therefore, what faculties belong to the human mind, either of two courses may be adopted. We may enter our own bosoms, and, by reflection, ascertain what powers exist there; or we may observe our fellow-men, and from their words and deeds infer that certain principles are universal and characteristic of the race. Pursuing this latter mode, it may be asked why men paint their houses white, and women so carefully adorn their persons; why the bookseller fills his windows with pictures and covers his counters with illustrated volumes; why the magazine offers attractive embellishments; why the child smiles at the rosebud and the parent stops to admire the flower. Dwellings were as comfortable, and as durable, perhaps, not painted at all, or painted black. Russet robes and cotton kerchiefs would shut out the cold quite as effectually as silks, ribbons, and laces. The truth of the thoughts, the interest of the narratives, the sentiment of the poetry, in the pages of costly gift-books, gain nothing from fair letter-press and fine engravings. Why, then, is not all sameness and plainness? Why is there any such thing as ornament in the world? Using general terms, it answers the present purpose to say, that all efforts to add comeliness to the useful, give proportion to edifices or grace to fabrics, are expressions of "THE SENTIMENT OF THE BEAUTIFUL," which, either as a single faculty or a union of several faculties, exists in every person, prompts all to crave something to please the eye, and teaches some to value above price the lovely creations of art and nature.

That such a sentiment belongs to man's nature admits of no doubt. None are wholly without it. It paints and tattooes the savage. It puts rings in the ears and noses of the inhabitants of the forest and of the isles

of the sea. It strings glass beads round the ebon necks of the daughters of Africa. It binds bracelets about the ankles, and hangs bells on the toes, of the dancing-girls of India. It weaves gorgeous and rich robes for the damsels and dames of Christendom. It builds the costly mansion, lays out the verdant lawn, erects the splendid temple. It encourages the artist, employs the engraver, and fills the fancy store with eager eyes on a Christmas or New-Year's day. Its handiwork may be seen in the blue ribbon that ties up the "bonnie brown hair," or in the grotesque and flaming pictures staring out from the walls of the barber's shop. In a word, it is present everywhere, from the drapery of tissue-paper on the frame of a looking-glass, up to the marbled and pillared streets and the chiselled gods and goddesses of ancient Athens, living still, immortal in the realm of art.

We are to advocate now the education of this universal and busy sentiment.

But what is meant by its "education"? Have we not already alluded to numerous exhibitions of this sentiment, and shown it to be everywhere active? True. But this is far from proving that we, as a people, are fully alive to its value, and earnestly devising, to the requisite extent, ways and means for its culture. It is impossible entirely to prevent any faculty of the mind or passion of the heart from making itself visible somehow. But the difference is wide between the irregular and untaught expression of a faculty, and the movements and effects of that faculty when subject to right discipline. Without instruction man would think, reason, invent, compare, — would he not? But who would therefore argue that all schools should be abolished and all intellectual training dispensed with? Without instruction conscience would make some distinctions between motives and deeds, — would it not? But who would therefore recommend that conscience should be left unenlightened? The spirit in man, or rather the spirit which is man, will out and show itself, either in harmony with, or in opposition to, truth and virtue; and that it may do the former, it must be exercised and informed. If the fact, then, that the sentiment of the beautiful is already more or less operative be an argu-

ment against special endeavors for its improvement, then a like fact may be urged to prove useless all exertions to develop any department of human nature, and to recommend a social condition below that of the Hottentots,—an absurdity no one tolerates. All admit that it is the business of education to take the soul in all its parts, to unfold them, and to make them pure, strong, and truthful, that they may not only grow, but grow aright and bring forth good fruits.

Now, urging direct attention to the culture of the sentiment of the beautiful is only applying to that sentiment a doctrine universally acknowledged. In this country this application, to any great extent, has not yet been made. Little pains is taken to refine the taste of the multitude, to open "the public eye" to the lovely and the graceful. What we have of beauty is either the result of some happiness in the circumstances of favored individuals, or the faint effort of a natural desire to vindicate its claim to notice. Very few measures are taken to improve the general taste, from the conviction that such measures are necessary or of any worth, except as creating a luxury. This is a mistake, and the sooner it is corrected the better. In every community alive to the great interests of humanity, the cultivation of the public taste should be distinctly proposed and steadily followed, until good taste shall be coextensive with good morals, every cottage please the sight as well as shelter the body, every chair be easy to look at as well as easy to sit in, and all as fond of a fine tree as of a good dinner, as much charmed with the golden and silver hue of the clouds as with the tinkling sound of specie or the decorated notes of specie-paying banks.

A sufficient reason of itself for addressing and enlarging the capacity to perceive and enjoy the beautiful is found in the simple fact already alluded to, of the existence of that capacity. Very erroneous is the mode by which the worth of any branch of knowledge is, not unfrequently, calculated. Over fond of judging from what is called experience, some thus judge of matters wherein experience is, at best, an imperfect guide. The value of a study or a plan to benefit the community is tested by its immediate, palpable effects on present comfort. The inquiry, "Of what use?" is met, not with

reference to what man might be, but to what man is or has been. Recommend, for example, a public promenade, garden, or gallery of art, free drawing-schools, or cheap concerts for the masses, and the questions are asked, What good will they do? Will they furnish fuel, cook a dinner, increase wealth? Have not thousands lived and died without such things? Why are they more needed now than formerly? Our fathers, good people, had no such luxuries; why should their descendants have them? The reasoning here, put into plain language, is weak and absurd. It means, if it means any thing, that mankind are to stand stock still and never grow. This narrow feeling, more prevalent than is commonly imagined, proves altogether too much. Men might exist, keep off cold, hunger, and thirst, and sleep soundly, in a savage state. Strike out from the catalogue of human wants all whose supply is not needed to maintain the circulation of the blood or furnish the stomach with food, and men could do without a vast deal now deemed indispensable as daily bread; nay, hardly a den of poverty can be found in which, however cheerless and wretched, there is not some superfluity in the midst of great destitution. Such low utilitarianism, thus circumscribing humanity, making of it a miserable drudge and dwarf, — the sordid contraction of man's horizon which avarice and selfishness advocate in opposition to many enterprises, — involves notions as false as they are ungenerous. The truth is, all were born to be *men;* not merchants, mechanics, lawyers, farmers, laborers, merely or chiefly; not money-getters or fame-getters solely; but *men.* And what is a man, — a genuine, full-grown man? It is no reply to describe what past generations have been, or what the present generation is; to tell with how stinted a portion of wisdom or enjoyment the multitude of other days spent their lives. Perhaps they were only half men; perhaps we, with all our boasting and vanity, are not whole men. The only just way of answering the question is to examine, so to speak, the elements of a man, to discover all the powers and sentiments of the soul, and then say that the full and right education of all these makes the man. No one would maintain that any thing useless or superfluous has been put into the human constitution; how, then, can any

thing evidently belonging to that constitution be safely neglected? It is enough, therefore, that the sentiment of the beautiful, active or dormant, exists in all, to prove that it should be directly cared for in all.

But it may be interesting to support this conclusion by other considerations less abstract and more attractive.

The costly and abundant preparation made in the natural world for refined taste is a command that all should be fitted to partake of it. This may be shown in many ways; but brief hints are all that can be given here. The mingling everywhere of the beautiful with the useful is evidence that man is to enjoy as well as exist. Food for the body comes attended by much that is pleasant. Our daily bread is often wreathed with garlands. The field undulates with golden waves. The blossom unfolds among the uniform stems of the wheat, and the bird rises from the low furrow to soar and sing in the heavens. The time of sowing is short; the seed grows, we know not how; the harvest is brief; and man may, if he will, have leisure and hear the invitation to be charmed by the fair and good, even whilst toiling for the useful; for with prodigal hand is the earth decked out for the eye of taste, even as it is filled with treasures for the hand of gain. Indeed, sometimes it were hard to tell for which, the body or the soul, the most is directly done. The latter is equally remembered with the former. Where the herb grows, the forest stretches out brawny arms, the waters sleep, and the meadows smile, — there rich colors circle in silken petals, and odor is wafted on the summer wind. And why this regard for beauty in all God's work? Why does the lily grow up with the corn, or why are the fruits of autumn born of the blossom, cradled among the green foliage, and rocked on the branches by the gentle breeze? Mary Howitt has well asked and well answered this question.

"God might have made the earth bring forth
Enough for great and small,
The oak-tree and the cedar-tree,
Without a flower at all.

. . . . .

"Then wherefore, wherefore were they made,
And dyed with rainbow light,
All fashioned with supremest grace,
Upspringing day and night?

. . . . .

"Our outward life requires them not,
Then wherefore had they birth?
To *minister delight to man*,
To beautify the earth;

"To comfort man, to whisper hope
Whene'er his faith is dim;
For who so careth for the flowers
Will care much more for him!"

Again, what variety this fair world presents! How it meets the wants of every exquisite sense, and furnishes pleasing pictures for every mood of mind! As no expression of the Divine spirit can be otherwise than pure, beautiful, and sublime, so it would seem the changes of that expression in outward things are infinite. Take a day, such as many waste as valueless. Take only one day. Go out into the boundless universe, stand alone, gaze with open eye and fixed attention on creation. How much of good, what floods of glory, are poured out whilst this round orb makes but a single revolution! It is the hour of dawn. Darkness rolls off like a curtain, its retreating, glowing edges reflecting the smiles of welcome morning. The ascending sun burnishes with mild flame the rejoicing east. Graceful, multiform, ruby-colored clouds float in a translucent sea of azure. Dew-drops sparkle on every blade of grass. The birds pour out their matin hymns of gladness. The breeze comes pure as from the just-opened gates of paradise; and the world rejoices as in the innocence of its unworn childhood. It is the hour of noon. The sunbeams gild the summits of the mountains, plate with silver the ocean and the rivers, and visit on errands of mercy the loneliest nooks. Restless shadows dance on the hill-sides and the green fields. The patient herds are grazing or reposing. The busy insects are on the wing. Earth with holy diligence is nursing into perfection uncounted seeds; —

"And over all, in that ethereal vault,
Is the mute company of changeful clouds."

It is the hour of evening,

"When day, with farewell beams, delays
Among the opening clouds of even,
And we can almost think we gaze
Through golden vistas into heaven."

The air is soft and liquid. The west glows with the folded robes of the retiring sun. The leaves are still. All voices are hushed, and twilight soothes the world into calm repose. "The starry assemblage of the heavens" have lit their silver lamps. The thousand-eyed skies are watching like a mother the sleeping earth. And everywhere is shed abroad a soft, pleasing, mysterious, pensive influence. — This is but a fragment sketch of a single day; yet even here what an overflow of loveliness! Many such days come and go to make up our life, unheeded by careless and untaught man. But in any one of them the thoughtful may read the purpose of God, that "man shall not live by bread alone."

We venture upon another illustration. Let the reader go with us, in imagination, to one of our mountain-altars. Would we could linger on the way, to ask him, as with bird-like swiftness we glide up one of those magnificent streams, the life-currents of this favored land, to gaze on that wall of rock rising on the left and those green hills swelling away on the right, until we are shut in by the grand and towering highlands, — to behold, through the narrow gorge they have grudgingly opened to the importunate waters, that expanded sea, bordered with emerald fields, studded with white villages, as pearls are strown on velvet coronets round the brow of beauty; would we could do this, as it might be done, to have it felt still more deeply how wondrous fair is our earthly home. But we must hasten on. Threading the winding way through the forest, along the edges of precipices, some three miles or more, we emerge at length on a table-rock three thousand feet above the level of the sea. Behind is a belt of pines; on either side, peaks taller than that on which we stand, bathe themselves in the untainted breeze. Before us is a glorious panorama; but it is hidden now. Sportive clouds, almost transparent, are rolling, drifting, and gambolling at our feet. Presently these are swept away by an unseen hand; then, far as eye can reach, what a vision is unfolded! Looking downward from the dizzy height, all inequalities are lost, or only marked by shadows; hill and valley are smoothed into a vast variegated plain, a carpet fit for God's own temple. Parts are dark with congregated groves; parts are bright with waving corn. Here flocks

are scattered like snow-flakes; there the lakes repose, as ungathered diamonds. In this direction the purple smoke curls up with many graceful convolutions; whilst in that, and all through this realm of beauty, flows the distant river, an imprisoned ray of light; and beyond that river, yon cloud-capped mountain barrier bounds and guards the peaceful scene, even as the warrior protects with stern resolve his secluded home. In this picture alone, which may be recognized, perhaps, as no dream of fancy, enough is crowded to prove man was never made to look on the earth only as a field of toil. But quitting this spot, we seek another. Follow for a while the path through the woods. Descend with care the steep sides of the deep ravine. Cling firmly to the roots and shrubs, as we turn to enter, as it were, a mountain cave. Move cautiously along that narrow and shelving path. We are safe, sheltered by the overarching rock, behind "the loud and white-robed waterfall." Changing our position a little, we catch that

> "Bright apparition, suddenly put forth,
> The rainbow, smiling in the silver mist";—

or wander still farther down the gorge, to view the frightened stream leaping from rock to rock to hide itself in the embowering darkness, to look up to the glory crowning the tree-tops, to tremble before the transparent sheet sliding swiftly over the precipice, quickly wreathed into snowy foam, or to strive in vain to fathom the depths of the unsounded skies! Weary of all this, we sit for rest in some cool shadow, pluck from a neighboring bush a single leaf, observe its waving and graceful outline, its delicate framework, its velvet smoothness, then gather the nearest flower, it matters not which, consider it with devout thought, and ask, in view of all we have seen and experienced, whether the sentiment of the beautiful can be left uncultivated in any human bosom without opposing the plain design of the Creator. He who believes in a Universal Father, — he who reflects how the fair and the useful are, in unending variety, everywhere visible, — he who recognizes the rich germs wrapped in every soul, that may be unfolded in a lofty and pure and ever-growing life, — can give but one answer to such a question.

Leaving this higher view, we think something may be said next to commend the cause we are advocating to those who place the highest value upon physical comforts and the substantial profits of wealth, — to those whose cry is ever utility. Good taste has not a little to do with health. Edmund Burke hardly used a figure of speech when he called the parks of London "the lungs of the metropolis." Public squares are almost the only breathing-places in large cities; and the laying out of attractive walks and gardens is a measure Poor Richard himself might justify on the score of economy. As playgrounds for the young, resorts for those confined to shops and engaged in sedentary employments, public promenades and open fields rank among the necessaries of life. Then as to the location and structure of dwelling-houses, any thing except comfort seems not seldom to have been studied in their erection. They are not only ugly to the eye, but also violations of plain laws of the physical constitution. In rēgard to light and ventilation, coolness in summer and warmth in winter, they are frequently most ill-contrived. How often they are pushed into the very road, unsheltered by a single tree, unrelieved by a single shrub, with every window a conductor of the sun's fiercest rays, or a wide-open mouth for the reception of every cloud of dust! Even where land is abundant, and the trees are only to be let alone, who has not known "the best room" to be about as pleasant as a seat on a rock, on a hot noon in midsummer, by the edge of some great highway? And the kitchen, that most important department, that region of so much perplexity in the best-regulated families, where so many must live and labor, — the kitchen, how frequently is it far away from one agreeable sight or sound, cold, dark, cheerless, in the rear of the house, or sunk, like a dungeon, half underneath the ground! Now the evils here hinted at, and others which might be named, are not simply inconvenient; they are not seldom and in the long run extravagant. A little beauty, which costs nothing, increases the value of real estate. Any man would give more for a tenement with a front yard, than for one jammed on to the sidewalk, with no attractions except bricks and pavements. This remark may be extended. A regard for appearances is thriftiness in a community. It helps its

reputation. Travellers spread the fame of a pleasant town. It is well, therefore, for a village to claim popularity by wearing an attractive dress and fitting ornaments. Time spent in consulting proportion and neatness in building is not time wasted; neither is money paid for paint, trees, shrubbery, money squandered. The six and eight per cent. interest often depends on things of small account in the estimation of avarice and vulgarity.

There is another way of showing the connection between the culture of the public taste and the material welfare of society, to discuss which at length would be inappropriate to these pages; and yet we must advert to it. "The selfish and exclusive classes," to quote from an article which appeared years since in a foreign journal, "by endeavoring to keep back the industrious classes from a knowledge of the principles or refinements of taste, in reality pick their own pockets; for there is a co-operative affinity between pecuniary profit and susceptibility to the beautiful. The coarsest calculations of money-getting and the prevalence of art are closely connected; and the encouragement of the latter is a question of dollars and cents, as much as any question of the counting-room or the counter." These assertions are strictly correct, and proofs of their truth are easily found. A committee of the English Parliament once collected a volume of evidence on the influence of a knowledge of art on the manufactures of Great Britain; and that evidence showed very clearly, and in many respects, that foreign products, especially those of France, obtained preference over domestic fabrics, because of their superior beauty. A mass of testimony went very far to demonstrate the fact, "that capital was wasted in England in capricious and random endeavors to please the eye of customers; and that the degradation of national taste and national profit kept pace with each other." "Some may laugh," says the journal already quoted, "at the apparently paradoxical assertion, that to put money in your purse, in the present state of the world, you must have the aid of a Greek classic or an Egyptian antiquary, familiar with the treasures of Thebes, Athens, and Pompeii. Some may laugh at this; but the laugh is costly. The laughers lose money by the joke. The French, who do not laugh, but make themselves familiar with the best

copies and models, beat them out of the field by producing more tasteful, and therefore more salable articles." The truth at the bottom of such remarks deserves serious attention in our own country, young as yet in manufactures, but destined, if wise, to increase so as to know no rival in the world in this branch of industry. To success, however, a regard for art is necessary, and our artists should be of native growth. Therefore, to despise projects and counsels which aim to surround even the humblest members of society with whatever may develop and improve the sentiment of the beautiful, as having no bearing on our economical interest, may be applying "the cheap ridicule of fools to the sources of daily bread."

But we must turn to the last and most important argument we have to suggest. The moral good of the community requires the cultivation of the public taste. Philanthropy may, and often does, go to its work too directly and too solemnly; trusting to too few instruments, and overlooking some of the plainest teachings of a true philosophy of human nature. Vice cannot always be exterminated by open attack. Homilies, lectures, and essays are not the only efficient agents of righteousness. Evil is to be prevented, as well as cured, and the ground it would seize upon defended by preoccupation. There is in man an innate love of excitement, which cannot be quenched; and he has written in his very nature a right to recreation, which it will not do to despise or fight against. Moreover, whence comes that supremacy of the lower propensities, whose wrong and excessive indulgence produces the worst forms of social iniquity? Is it not owing to the dormant condition, or the feeble or wrong action, of the nobler powers and higher faculties? True, men of genius and taste have been degraded. True, no refinement of manners, no culture of the intellect, no development of artistic faculties, will certainly rescue from pollution individuals whose moral sentiments are neglected. But with a view to the moral health of communities, and as an aid to the virtue of the people, much may be done by educating the general taste; because the grosser appetites and more perilous pleasures will thus be kept in check. Those surrounded by pleasant scenes and accustomed to the purer enjoyments are little

aware, perhaps, of their indebtedness to these, rather than to any greater strictness of principle, for their apparent superiority in virtue over many less favored. Deprive large classes of such scenes and enjoyments, and thereby they are condemned to extreme exposure. Examples of this fact might be easily adduced; but they cannot be wanted. The many with whom intemperance is sought as enjoyment, — the recklessness characteristic of certain classes, the inmates of houses of correction and prisons, — as well as those, higher up ostensibly on the social scale, whose cup of pleasure must be spiced with temporary madness and drugged with slow poison, whose joy is the riot of fiery and uncurbed passions, — bear sad witness to the truth that much must be done, by the substitution of innocent, as well as by the extermination of hurtful amusements, in order to improve the spiritual condition of congregated humanity.

To prevent gross vice, then, the sentiment of the beautiful should be everywhere developed and made active. A gentleman once urged his friend to visit Paris, saying it was the strangest of places; for there "a man had *no time to get drunk*." The French capital is not to be held up for a moment as a school of morals; though, to do it justice in passing, there have been times in its history when the love of science and art was almost the only conservative power that kept it from sinking into barbarism; and this love is certainly not to be held responsible for its iniquities. The somewhat broad anecdote is quoted as strongly stating what, in part, should be the aim of every community. It should leave its members no time to get drunk. It should persuade them to employ leisure in more harmless recreations than the gratification of the baser appetites.

Carrying out this principle, advantage can be taken of the law of association; that law to whose operation peculiarities of national character and changes in the moods and manners of individuals are so constantly and correctly attributed. The workings of this law may often be invisible and inseparable from the doings of other agencies, even as in an illuminated apartment it is impossible to trace each ray of light to its parent flame; but these workings are none the less sure, notwithstanding. Surround a human being with filth and

forms of wretchedness, let him breathe only bad air and grovel in the dirt, and the *chance* is he will grow up brutal, and clothed with vile habits as with a garment; let him sometimes wander in green fields, drink the mountain wind, seize on the grand and beautiful in nature and in art, and the *chance* is body and mind and heart will be invigorated and purified. In neither case are the consequences inevitable; but in both they are probable enough to make it a duty to labor for the better and guard against the worse.

Advantage may be taken, too, for high moral ends, of fancy and wit. The hourly quoted saying of Fletcher of Saltoun, to the effect that, "if he could make the ballads of a people, he cared not who made their laws," was indeed a saying of profound wisdom. Philanthropy cannot secure its blessed object, if always clad in the camel's hair and bound with the leathern girdle of the warning prophet. Preserving its sacred character, and mindful of its noble ends, it must sometimes wear a more graceful garb, use a more musical and winning voice, endeavor to be attractive whilst it is true, and address its counsels to the livelier and less solemn faculties and feelings, put into human nature by the same Power who has ordained conscience to be the sovereign of the soul. From overlooking this method of doing good, truth and virtue have had a contest harder than necessary with vice; and in this respect the children of this world in their day and generation are often wiser than the children of light. As Heaven's own promises and invitations are almost powerless from the lips of dull preachers, and sophistry becomes a victorious rival by aid of the pleasant and eloquent voice, so wrong will conquer right, if the advocates of the latter refuse to remember that men are beings of taste, fancy, and imagination. Extensive and discriminating observation will confirm what we say, and find ready answers to the superficial objections that may be brought against it. The general development of the love of the beautiful, and the generous provision for its nurture and gratification, will be found the allies, and not the foes, of good order and pure morality. Riot and rudeness cannot coexist with good taste; and the manifestation of brutal passions is diminished according to the progress made in the refine-

ment of society. Art and literature are the servants of goodness; the wider, therefore, their mission, the larger their beneficent results.

We would not ride a hobby, even the most beautiful, to death; and so would take care to say, in closing, that this brief plea is not the product of a visionary enthusiasm, which believes the cultivation of the public taste a perfect and sufficient remedy for all social evils. Such cultivation is only one of the ministers ordained by Providence to advance on earth the well-being of humanity. But in its place it certainly deserves a much more positive and systematic attention than it has yet received in our own land, — a land whose inhabitants have the largest invitation to secure its coöperative blessings. A better day, however, is dawning. Here the love of beauty must be unfolded, and art receive the reverence which is its due; for here is more than Athenian freedom, more than Grecian loveliness and grandeur in earth and sky. This continent is a paradise that genius must enter and enjoy. Among its mountains and rivers and valleys the voice of song must be heard, the pencil of art must be diligent. Everywhere its people, unless false to privileges greater and more universal than any nation has yet enjoyed, must become a people, not only rich and powerful, but likewise renowned for all that adorns with beauty and clothes with grace the life of labor and the gigantic achievements of enterprise.

T. B. F.

Art. III. — THE ICARIAN COMMUNITY.*

Every science and project now has its "Almanac." The vehicle is a convenient one for the circulation of intelligence and information on all new schemes, and the daily use which such a manual generally finds is adapted to keeping any scheme in fresh remembrance, at least for a year. The "Almanach" the title of which

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* *Almanach Icarien, Astronomique, Scientifique, Pratique, Industriel, Statistique, et Social, dirigé par* M. Cabet, ex-Deputé, ex-Procureur-Général, Avocat à la Cour Royale. Paris. 1848.

we have copied below is evidently designed for the especial service of the cause which gives to it its distinctive epithet. It is divided into four parts. From the fourth of these, which is entitled "Sociale," and which bears the signature of M. Cabet, we derive the information, as well as the extracts, embraced in the following pages.

Civilized society, as it exists in our day, is a structure formed in various epochs, mostly in the early ages; of mixed materials, chiefly of the growth of feudal institutions; of shape and fashion partaking of the grotesque. It is a fortress from which combined wealth and concentrated power carry war upon the weak and abject millions that fill the deep and dreary hollows around its purlieus and outposts. Like the fabrics of government in the Old World, its plan had a special eye to the interests of those who should be most mighty and powerful, and little regard to the convenience of the low and poor. Devised for the haughty, it overlooked the humble. It is not wonderful that, under such a vicious constitution of society, there should be manifested, from time to time, an excited restlessness, a desire of some change, and occasional attempts to reform and revolutionize the social organization. Many such movements have been made in our time. Rapp's colony in Pennsylvania, Owen's in Indiana, Fourier's plan, and others, have been set on foot, with various degrees of success, but none of them have produced great results.

There are very serious obstacles to all such plans, found in the materials of construction, in the selfishness, dishonesty, and slothfulness of man. These render it much more than doubtful if any improvement can be effected by resolving society into a family or fraternity, even with an opportunity of selection, and more especially if the plan should include the whole mass. The system of fraternity, or consolidation of labors and interests, proceeds upon two ideas mainly, both of which are of unquestionable truth. First, that there are evils in the present organization of society. Second, that a given number of men are capable of producing much more by a union of labor, than the same number could produce by separate action. The difference is indeed very great. Consolidation of labor and interests, there-

fore, would be highly advantageous, on one condition, — which one condition is unfortunately impossible. If all men were as they ought to be, — if all were perfectly honest and upright, and all equally industrious and well disposed, — the community system would be a vast improvement. It would increase the production of the world, the ease and comfort of living, and the happiness and virtue of mankind. Until man is individually improved, the community plan cannot succeed. When this reform of the individual is effected, then we shall have the materials for a reform of society by the community system. But the evil itself prevents the remedy. So long as the institution of property exists, men cannot be made honest and virtuous; and so long as man is what he is, the system of fraternity must fail. Reform may have reference, it is true, to the aggregate social body, not to the individuals composing it, but it must be gradual, easy, imperceptible.

M. Cabet is a gentleman of finished education, an Advocate of the Cour Royale, Paris, late Attorney-General and member of the Chamber of Deputies of France. The appointment to the office of Attorney-General in France is a sufficient guarantee of his learning, abilities, and character. Some years ago he formed the project of a consolidation of interests, enlisted a large number of his countrymen in the plan, and emigrated with them to this country to found a colony, which he called "Icarian." The objects which he proposes for attainment, under his plan, are fraternity, without extinction of the domestic relations. He continues the institutions of marriage and the family. But his system includes a consolidation of labors and funds, — a community of interests; and he expects by this to effect equality, liberty, unity, peace, love, justice, mutual aid, mutual insurance, organization of labor, increase of production, suppression of poverty, increasing improvement, progress, education, intelligence, reason, morality, order, union, plenty, and the general welfare.

The evils of the social state which he designed to overcome, and the advantages which he promised himself and his followers, in the adoption of his system, are briefly stated in a programme or exposition published by him in an address to the public, in which the miserable

condition of the laboring classes in France is vividly depicted; and they are urged to escape from it, and migrate to this country with him, as joint partners in his plan of fraternity and consolidation of means and interests. It is probable that the picture of their poverty and hardship in their native land is not overcharged, but it cannot be supposed that the background representation of Icaria retains the hue which at the distance it seemed to have.

"LABORERS! LET US GO INTO ICARIA! What is in fact your lot here? Reflect on it. Children of poverty, privation and suffering receive almost all of you at the moment of your birth, and cleave to you till the moment of your death. Filth and rags, privations of all sorts, ignorance and superstition, vicious examples, labor imposed on you as a doom before your strength is grown, — such is the lot of your childhood. Labor often exceeding your strength, often disgusting in itself, often exhausting, often dangerous, exposing you to a thousand risks; low wages, insufficient to supply your wants; want of work, and diseases; military conscription and civil registration; no rights, no future prospects; a perpetual state of anxiety, with servitude and poverty; — such is the lot of your youth.

"How many of you are deprived of the sweet happiness of marriage and domestic enjoyment! And for those who venture to marry, how many anxious fears, how much anguish in store! In old age, how many, after a life of toil and of service done the country, have nothing left them but neglect, abandonment, infirmity, the hospital and death to close their long career of suffering!

"And at your side what a contrast, the spectacle of the wealth of your masters and employers, or of those privileged persons, who have no trouble beyond that of being born, and who consume every thing without producing any thing, whilst you enjoy nothing, but produce every thing!

"Nevertheless, that we may be just and true in all things, let us cherish neither envy nor hatred toward the classes considered more fortunate than ourselves, for they have also anxieties and afflictions, their downfalls and sufferings; like us, if not to such a degree as we, they are victims of an odious social organization, which makes us all its slaves, which sows everywhere division and hostility, and which leaves to none either security or true happiness.

"But if the masters and the privileged few are not happy, we laborers are crushed under the weight of distress, which daily becomes a more intolerable load, and which makes some bold

and radical remedy indispensable. In Icaria, in that community which we are about to establish in America, see what will be the lot and the happy destiny of the working classes.

"There no more paupers destitute of every thing by the side of the rich overflowing with superfluities, but all the citizens proprietors or co-proprietors of a large, common, social, national property; consequently, no more *pauperism*.

"No more destitution with its terrible anxieties and its mortal anguish, nor wealth with its train of oppressive and revolting vices; but support made sure to all by work, comfort, and plenty; consequently, no more poverty.

"No more workmen and employers or masters, but *associates*, *partners*, all brethren, all equal, all obliged to labor, according to their physical or intellectual energies and capacities; all labor considered in the light of public functions, and all public functions as labor; consequently, no more working of some for the benefit of others; no more distinction between those who are worked and those who work others. No more *wages*, but a division of the products among the producers, like the division of profits between partners.

"No more idleness from want of work, nor excessive competition, but labor organized on the most perfect possible system, according to the lights of reason and experience, in obedience to the dictates of the public opinion and the will of the laborers themselves.

"All agricultural and manufacturing industry organized into great establishments, and the labor carried on in extensive workshops. The work distributed among all the citizens, in such a manner that none will be idle and none overburdened. The workshops comfortable, healthy, cleanly, elegant.

"Every thing lavishly supplied by the community to aid, relieve, protect the laborer. Machinery multiplied infinitely and constantly, in order to execute all sorts of disgusting, exhausting, dangerous labor.

"Trades and professions chosen, as much as practicable, by each one according to his inclinations, tastes, and capacities. All public offices elective, for a limited period, and revocable. All citizens electors, and eligible according to their capacities and in subservience to the general weal.

"No more registers, no more military service except as a national guard for defence, no taxes except as rendered in work, and nothing spared to make this work easy, agreeable, without danger, attractive.

"The community shall guarantee to every one food, lodging, clothing, instruction, and education, medical and sanatory relief, the possibility of marrying and of having a family, and successively all the reasonable comforts and enjoyments of civilization.

"No aristocracy, no privileges, no inequality of rights, but the most perfect democracy, equality everywhere and in every thing as among *Brethren* and according to the principles of *Brotherly Love*, equality in the burdens as in the advantages, equality relative and proportional according to the physical or intellectual capacities for the burdens and according to the wants in the distribution, so that all shall be *equally* happy, none being superior to the others, and none seeing another happier than himself.

"In a word, in Icaria the workmen are the people, the nation, the country, the society; it is they who govern by themselves and for themselves, for the good of all and of each; and when the most perfect education shall have given to the intelligence of a new generation the completest development of which it is susceptible, then it will be seen that human perfectibility will make great and rapid advances, on all the highways of progress, towards that degree of perfection that has been assigned by Nature or Providence to the human race."

The destitution, hardship, and oppression of the children of labor in gay, crowded, capricious, rich, luxurious, tyrannical France, must be extreme. Wages at about twenty cents a day not only would show us that the most industrious man with constant employment must be in a condition of most abject poverty and misery; but it is also evidence that laborers are so abundant, and competition so great, that a large number must, of necessity, be deprived of any work and of any wages. The proposition of Cabet was addressed especially to this class. They were the chief objects of his care, and among them he sought to organize his society. The conditions of admission are declared to be, —

1st. A deliberate and absolute devotedness to the cause of wives, of children, of the people, and of humanity. It is necessary for us to feel courage to take this devotedness wholly for a guide, to the end that we may support all the fatigues, and sacrifice every emotion of vanity or jealousy to the success of the enterprise. 2d. It is necessary to adopt completely and sincerely the general principles of the Icarian system, fraternity, equality, liberty, consolidation, community. 3d. It is necessary to have the character of being industrious, to have a useful talent, and to be ready to labor in clearing land, if necessary. 4th. To be temperate. 5th. To have a character without reproach. 6th. To abandon to the community all the property each possesses at the time of de-

parture, in trust, on the part of the community, to provide for all his wants.

These were preliminary and provisory. The ultimate, definitive conditions were to be afterward considered.

In order to give a more exact comprehension of M. Cabet's design and plan, a few articles from the social contract are here transcribed.

"FORM OF THE SOCIETY.

"Of the different kinds of associations regulated by the Civil Code, the universal community of all goods has alone relation with our enterprise; — and of three societies admitted by the Commercial Code, the society named collective, or joint stock, appears alone suitable to our principle of fraternity, of equality, and of consolidation, the two others (the anonymous partnership, and the company *en commandite*, or with sleeping partners) having inequality for their basis. Our Icarian Society, then, shall be a society named collective and joint stock, in which all the associates shall be equal and joint partners in the charges and profits."

"OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

"The object is to acquire extensive tracts of land in a suitable climate, in order to clear them, to cultivate and work them, to establish itself there, by making all the needful constructions, to exercise there all industrial arts, and to carry on exterior commerce for the common interest."

"RIGHTS OF THE ASSOCIATES.

"The associates are equal, and copartners in rights as in duties; — all are electors and eligible; — all are equally co-proprietors in undivided interest; — all have a right to be equally well fed, clothed, and lodged, they and their families; — all have the same right to be married, and to have gratuitous and common education furnished to their children."

Without noting in detail the several provisions, we have included enough in the above abstract to show the character of the associates and of the society, its form and object, and the obligations and rights of its members. In pursuance of the plan formed, several hundred associates left France and came to this country in 1848, and established the Icarian colony at Nauvoo, which about two years before had been vacated by the Mormons, a small population only then remaining.

The principal direct and visible reform to be wrought out by the Icarian community is the dissolution of the institution of property. The common observation of

many men has concurred in the belief that money, not merely the *love* of it, as the Apostle says, is the root of all evil. Nor is it less doubtful that it is in particular productive of some of those evil conditions in society which it is the object of the Icarians to reform or avoid. Christ spoke with a most thorough and certain knowledge of men, and expressed a truth that is everywhere manifest as the sun, when he said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." Riches and worldly prosperity are as sure to smother the meekness, humility, love, mercy, and charity which the Saviour taught as the sum and substance of his religion, as rank and acrid and noxious weeds are to smother the herbs in whose sweet and savory nutriment man finds the sustenance of his physical part. Wealth is at war with justice, love, honesty, meekness, humility, mutual sympathy and aid, peace, and good-will, and is the producer of injustice, oppression, hate, dishonesty, pride, domination, insolent and supercilious feeling, and invasion of others' rights. It develops to full bloom the evil that is in man. It could not therefore well be questioned by a sane man, that, if society can be framed and constituted without the element of property, a vast amount of evil would be dispensed with, that the individuals composing the society would have removed an impassable barrier that separates them from Christ and the kingdom of heaven; — that society would be in the aggregate more happy, more virtuous, more prosperous, and each individual composing it would enjoy more perfectly those inalienable rights, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and would be free from those temptations now surrounding him, to oppress his neighbor, to be angry with the oppressor, to do injustice, to cherish hate instead of love, to be dishonest, proud, overbearing, envious. All the evils flowing from riches, and all the evils incident to poverty, and the vices peculiar to each condition, would be suppressed. Something certainly subtracted from our stock of evil, and something added to our store of good.

The world has a flout for most new ideas, and a flippant gibe for every unwonted practice, whose motive, purpose, and tendency are the reform of old errors, the

improvement of man inwardly, or of his condition outwardly. But when reason and humanity unite in seeking a remedy for evils so immense and various as those which have followed the introduction of the institution of property into the world, — and men of learning, sound sense, and knowledge of the nature of things, of the structure and disorders and evils of the social state, and of the character of men in the individual and the aggregate, devote their lives, not in wild fanaticism, but with rational enthusiasm and zeal, to carry out a well-considered system, which is free from the old vice, though it may in itself not be without objections, — the attempt is wholly too respectable for real contumely or affected contempt.

The institution of property did not come into the world as the result of well-considered policy or mature and deliberate reasoning. It is not the offspring of wisdom, but of appetite. It grew out of a natural desire in man to appropriate to his own peculiar and exclusive use what was found to be useful and valuable, and it became fixed gradually and casually on society.

Christianity, then, and the common sense of mankind having concurrently pronounced money as a prolific source of evil, and wealth being declared by the Saviour to be destructive to the souls of men, a man who is either wise or religious cannot look upon those who would abrogate the institution of property, and who make attempts to reform this evil in the world, as either insane or absurd. It may be they are visionary; — if so, it is because the reform is impracticable, and not because it is not wholesome or proper. Such being the case, the fault is in the world, not in the reformer.

Let us consider some of the evils of individual property politically. For it is a political institution, and, next to the power of the government, is the principal matter which the sceptre and the scales have in charge to defend. It has been already stated, that property and the desire of property is the root from which grow some of the vices most damning to the soul of the possessor, and most injurious to his neighbor. The catalogue of these is both numerous and heinous. Some of these regard only a man's religious condition; while some of them, at the same time, have a political relation, and

work injury either to the state or to the individuals composing it. Of the last are injustice, dishonesty, oppression, fraud, robbery, theft, — all attempts of whatever kind, whether under cover of law, or the cloak of sanctity, or whether by clear wrong, to wrest property from another, against justice, right, or righteousness, to fill the coffer of him who may have coveted it.

But if property were wholly free from evils of the class and kind above mentioned, the world suffers in another mode by the accumulation of property in private hands; or rather it should be said, in two modes. First, a great amount is hoarded, and so becomes wholly useless to the world. And second, the balance which is not hoarded is diminished in effectual, actual, active usefulness. For a given amount of money or property in several private hands, directed to different purposes, managed to different results, controlled by different interests, cannot effect so much as if put into one stock, used for one purpose, by one direction, to one interest. This is a truth which is attested by the commercial partnerships and joint-stock companies, — and is too clear to be questioned. The whole property of a community consolidated, and used to effect a concert of purpose and interest, will be much more beneficial to the stockholders in the individual and the aggregate, to the public and private welfare, to the state and to the citizen, than when held and controlled by different persons.

But there is another evil, which at first glance seems opposite to this, and inconsistent with it. This is, that the accumulation of great wealth in individuals or corporations, under the present existing institution of property, works an evil to the state. It is only seemingly inconsistent; — and the difference is readily explained. It belongs to the institution itself. There is but a limited amount of property in the world, and if concentrated in a few hands, many good men who are disposed to be industrious and are of correct habits, fitted to be the most useful and valuable to the state, to society, and to themselves, being deprived wholly of means, become inert, are paralyzed and rendered useless; while the wealth that would convert a thousand such into the most valuable of the whole body of the community is hoarded in the coffers of the miser, or placed beyond their reach. Thus a

partial concentration of wealth in a few hands, while it is of great advantage to the possessor, is in a much larger extent injurious to others, and productive of great loss to the state; while consolidation of all the property brings its advantage to all instead of a few, has no injury for any, and produces no loss to the state, but a great benefit.

A still farther advantage is attained, as before suggested, in the consolidation of labor and concert of industry, which go with the consolidation of funds. It is well known to every working-man that much labor is done inconveniently and to great disadvantage by one or a few hands. "Many hands make light work." All work is done to more profit by numbers than by single efforts. The benefit of a union of labor as well as of a union of funds is proved by the partnerships and by the large companies of employees engaged in various labors and pursuits.

No more can be done than to suggest the bearing and tendency of the institution of property upon man, considered in his psychological and religious condition, and in his political connection and social relations. Each of these forms a subject separately for more discussion than our pages for a whole year would contain. It is enough briefly to note them. And having done this in regard to the first two relations, we proceed to a few remarks on the influence of property on the social condition.

The evils arising out of the institution of property are not limited to the injury which is done to the soul of the rich man, nor to the civil wrongs which the rich inflict upon the poor, and the poor upon the rich. But if both states of riches and poverty could be imagined to be wholly free from the vices, the wrongs, and the crimes growing out of the condition of wealth and poverty, still the mere social condition of each of the two classes, the happiness of both, is materially and injuriously affected by the institution of property. The luxurious living, the ease and sloth, that attend the condition of the rich are unfavorable to health, to physical vigor, and to industrial activity, as well as to moral excellence; while the hardships, privations, destitution, and suffering of the poor everywhere, but most in those communities where the

greatest individual wealth is found, are such as to make our nature revolt, and to fill the soul, not only of the sufferer, but of the beholder also, with horror.

If the truth of the propositions here stated be conceded, as we think it must; — if Christ's preaching be true, that riches hurt the soul of the possessor; — if the common observation of men, which has become a proverb, be true, that money is the root of all evil; — the question arises, Must the world continue to suffer all this enormous mass and load of various ills, or can some system be devised and put in operation that will be free from them, without bringing others as great? This is a question of great interest and of much perplexity. It is a most sorrowful truth, that no sane and observant man can question that Mammon has more numerous and more devoted worshippers than the Almighty Creator. And the idolatry of the devotees is no less faithful, sincere, and zealous, than if an image of gold were set up in the sanctuary, and prayers and oblations were made to it, on bended knee, morning and evening, on each day. In proportion as the disciple of Mammon becomes estranged from the true God, he becomes cold to his fellowman, selfish, self-conceited, proud, insolent, oppressive; assuming to himself great importance on account of his wealth, and attributing his wealth and his fancied consequence to his own merit, not to Providence, not to circumstances, not to accident. The experience of mankind teaches that, when the love of God has become stifled by wealth, the love of man has at the same time become extinguished; as Christ taught that he that has the love of God in his heart will love his neighbor also as himself.

The effect of this institution of property being so greatly injurious to the moral and social affections of man and to society, to the individual and to the mass, to the rich and to the destitute, to the present life and to the future, can any plan of society be devised and carried out that shall render our condition, in this life, at least, more comfortable, and the character of man in some degree improved?

M. Cabet has limited his reform to this one evil and to those which grow out of it. More prudent than some bolder reformers, he leaves marriage and the domestic

relations as they are. He is not one of that immortal band of modern Solons, who, possessing more than all past or present wisdom, more than the righteousness of Christ, would overturn every thing, and reconstruct society from the wildest fancies ever suggested by fanaticism and self-conceited ignorance. We are not sanguine, however, that M. Cabet's reform can be carried out. On the contrary, the failure, or at best a very limited success, of the plan may be confidently anticipated. The same plan was tried, under more favorable circumstances, in the first period of the settlement of the colony of Virginia, with a most decided failure. That company was established on the system of a community of property, and so existed from 1610 to 1613. The result was, as stated in a late history, that "every one endeavored to diminish his share of labor; all relied more on the common stock than on their own exertions; and the idle had become an insupportable weight on the industrious."*

Such will probably be the result of other experiments of a similar kind. Man has become so corrupted and vicious, that any considerable number of persons cannot be found who will be perfectly honest and equally industrious. Great numbers will find their way into all communities, who will rely more on the common stock than on their own exertions. Mankind, as at present found, does not afford suitable material for forming communities, or for resolving society into one or more family or families of aggregated nations or people. It is necessary that man's nature be purified and his character refined before this plan of community can be successfully carried out. But on the other hand, again, it will be impracticable to effect this purification and refinement to a sufficient extent, or to any considerable degree, while the institution of property exists, and continues to exercise, as it ever must, from its nature, a vitiating and corrupting influence over men. How, then, if the necessity of a reform in this direction be conceded, shall it be effected? There is only one means, and but one mode of effecting it. The means is law, the mode altogether prospective and gradual; by laws shaped so as

* Frost's History of the United States, Vol. I. p. 102.

not to touch injuriously any existing rights, but whose policy shall be, not by great, sudden, and startling innovations, but by gradual, mild, and just enactments, to bear only on future contingencies; and by encouragements, not by compulsions, at the first, to produce, or in a partial degree effect, some alleviation of the present evils, and some melioration of the social condition of mankind. This will be the only practicable means of making any change, if change is to be made. There cannot, however, be any rational hope of a general reform in this matter. What can moral or social good weigh against the covetousness of man? Nor do we consider the present age to be peculiarly favorable for reform. It is true that in the last twenty years society has been in a constant ebullition of reform, or of action called reform. But it has been conceived in the wildest fanaticism, and urged with hot-headed and violent intemperance, passion, and fury. The spirit of the public mind is not propitious to a calm and candid consideration of propositions for reform, or of the reasons for or against it. On the one side we have, even in this country, a large body of men who are steadfastly and obstinately fixed against progress. They will have no advance. "Let well enough alone" is their motto. It is the universal answer to all suggestions of improvement. That their fathers took and pursued any particular course of action, or held any opinion, is sufficient reason why they should continue to hold and pursue the same. They would leave the world in the same condition as they found it. If they had lived in the world as it was a thousand years ago, they would have thought every thing, as then existing, perfectly right and satisfactory, and would most earnestly have deprecated any change. This class of men also have a most idolatrous veneration for wealth and for the wealthy. On the other hand, there is a vast multitude of violent and angry spirits, restless as the storm-heaved sea, with whom the announcement of the word "reform," or the utterance of a few incoherent, insane expressions, has more influence than a thousand solid arguments, founded on reason and just principles. They ever act in passion and with violence, are guided by the most stolid ignorance, and are incapable of appreciating the arguments of wisdom

or the lessons of truth. Indeed, look where we may, we find error and prejudice overwhelming truth. In a large assembly of learned men we shall not, perchance, find one man of wisdom. But the greatest obstacle to judicious and wholesome reform in our day is in the unutterable selfishness of man. There is on one side the selfishness which is to be expected at all times, and which all new things have to encounter, — that which fears damage and loss by the change. But the worst form of selfishness, that which stands most in the way of improvement, is the spirit of seizing upon all propositions of public good, and making them the means of promoting private ends; a spirit of selfish demagogism, which incites men to turn every thing of this sort to their own private emolument or aggrandizement, and thus to bring odium and reproach upon every good and benevolent idea. Humanity is undoubtedly capable of a much greater improvement in morality and in social virtue and happiness than it has yet experienced. But, under the present conditions, such improvement is wholly impracticable. Man cannot be made honest while the splendid temptations of wealth are alluring him from virtue; he cannot be humble, meek, and just, while he holds in his hands the means to exalt and aggrandize himself, and to wrong and oppress his neighbor. So long as we consent to establish and sustain by law those institutions which as certainly and necessarily vitiate and corrupt man as the sun warms or water moistens him, it is utterly futile and foolish to attempt those reforms which can be effected only by destroying or overcoming the corrupting influence.

W. J. A. B.

Art. IV. — THE CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS.*

For some twenty-five years past it has been the custom, in nearly all our religious societies, to gather the young into a Sunday school, for specific instruction on sacred subjects. The amount of influence thus exerted, whether for good or evil, can hardly be exaggerated. The hours thus spent have left their mark on thousands of young minds and hearts, — a mark, too, which no length of time will efface.

We are not of those who think the Sunday school has been an unmixed blessing to our community. There is no spell in the mere system, by which it is made everywhere and always to save those for whom it labors. Many conditions are required for its complete success; and a large proportion of them are indispensable to turn the balance in its favor. So impressed, indeed, are some among us with the dangers and the various deficiencies in the management of this institution, that they are losing their interest in its prosperity. Not a few have actually withdrawn their support from it, and abandoned it to such as still have faith in its efficacy.

Now, without adopting either extreme view of the Sunday school, we are disposed to regard it as, on the whole, an actual good, and as capable of improvements, which entitle it to the favorable consideration of the benevolent and wise.

In the first place, we find it established; it is, in most of our parishes, incorporated with the exercises of the church, — as much, practically speaking, an institution as the public worship of the sanctuary. We are not likely,

* A course of Christian instruction for Sunday schools and families, comprised in a series of eight manuals, under the following titles: —

I. *Early Religious Lessons.*
II. *Palestine and the Hebrew People.* With two Maps.
III. *Lessons on the Old Testament.*
IV. *The Life of Christ.*
V. *The Books and Characters of the New Testament.*
VI. *Lessons upon Religious Duties and Christian Morals.*
VII. *Doctrines of Scripture.*
VIII. *Scenes from Christian History.*

Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1852.

by our indifference, or by even deserting it ourselves, to destroy the school. At most, we shall only diminish its power, and thus make it, as it lingers on, more inefficient, if not positively detrimental, to our children. It is the part, therefore, of wisdom, not to frown upon, nor yet neglect, this institution, but to make the most of it we can, to give our personal influence and labor for its utmost improvement.

This effort alone could not prove unavailing. No good purpose even is ever lost; it benefits him who cherishes it, at least, if it fail of being useful to others. Indeed, in our opinion, while the Sunday school does great good to the children, it is of equal service as a centre of moral and spiritual efforts to its own religious society. Let it be, that the pupils gain no new ideas whatever from week to week, or even that they learn some errors. This barely supposable evil may be more than counterbalanced by the good incidental to these stated gatherings of teachers and pupils. It is much to have an object thus constantly presented so elevated in character and so stimulating by its very nature to the highest motives and the noblest impulses of a human being.

All teaching has a tendency to improve those who impart it. It is a high office to instruct the intellect, to quicken the imagination, purify the taste, and charge the memory; and especially is it so to develop the understanding, invigorate the reason, and store the young mind with good learning. But moral education benefits the teacher still more. Appealing to the child's holiest nature, it reacts of necessity on the mind and the best affections of him who gives it. No one can take a class in a Sunday school with any sense of the work before him, and fail of all personal advantage. With any measure of sincerity, there must be a constant elevation of motives and a growing purity of character.

Why are Christian institutions a matter of indifference to so many? One reason, beyond doubt, is, that they make so few sacrifices to sustain them. They do not give their time, their money, their talents, and personal services freely, without stint, to the Church. Why is religion itself to multitudes the subject of so little deep and hearty interest? Among other causes this has its place, — they have done almost nothing for religion. It

has not been with them, like their business or their families, a theme of mental interest, the burden of their anxieties, an object for which they labor and live.

Now the Sunday school is a religious institution. It offers a point of moral and spiritual interest to the mind. He who engages in its duties is called to consider topics of the highest possible nature. He cannot prosecute his work with any reasonable fidelity, and be himself none the wiser or better. If he commend the moral virtues to a child, they assume a new importance in his own estimation. Every lesson he gives his class is given also to himself. God is to him a more real being from the attempt he has made to represent His attributes to them. Heaven has lost something of its vagueness in his effort to portray it. As with burning heart he has spoken of the eternal world, life and immortality have been "brought to light" in his own soul.

The Sunday school deserves our support as a central point round which the desires, aims, and endeavors of a religious society must naturally cluster. It helps the children for whose sake it is conducted, and the teachers who work directly within it. He who superintends it is made personally better by his care and toils. It does good to the parents, both directly and indirectly, as an object for their pure thoughts, daily prayers, and constant efforts. They cannot aid their children in the preparation of their lessons, contribute to the wants of the library, or even send each son and daughter regularly and punctually to the school, without an abundant, if not an obvious, reward.

Thus much we claim for this institution from its inherent nature, and independently of the specific and superadded advantages of a school conducted in the best possible manner. But when we approach this branch of our subject, we are at once struck with the defects in the present administration of many, if not of the majority, of our Sunday schools.

The first difficulty we are usually called to encounter is the want of a good and permanent superintendent. No institution can prosper without a competent and faithful head; least of all one so complex and delicate in its structure as a Sunday school. If the engineer be careless or ignorant, of what avail are the most perfect

parts or arrangements of the steamship? It will labor over the waters at best, and it may be ruined, too, notwithstanding the vigilance of every one else concerned in its management; and that in a way or at a time least anticipated. We need, also, an experienced incumbent in this office of superintendent. A judicious man who serves on for years in this capacity may be almost sure of finding himself at the head of a flourishing school.

There is a lack of male teachers in very many of our schools. In some cases, not even one can be found for a superintendent. There are good men, perhaps, in abundance in the parish. They will serve on its committee, accept office, perhaps, in any other form, and give their time and substance in every other way for the society. But they utterly refuse to teach in the Sunday school. And yet, with the devoted spirit they possess and manifest, in no manner could they do the parish so much good as by teaching its children.

Another obstacle in our way is the deficiencies of some who do teach. They take a class, perhaps, because it is fashionable, or they are importuned to it, or they like it as an excitement. Such persons do not prepare themselves for their work, and they execute it very poorly. They are sluggish or frivolous, irregular at their post, or so tardy as to do their class no good, and to interrupt the order of the whole school. The instruction of some teachers is desultory and miscellaneous; its staple, perhaps, is mere story-telling, or conversation upon all topics except moral and religious ones.

We fear there is not enough spiritual instruction, and we are quite sure there is not a deep spiritual impression wrought in all of our schools. We believe it is of paramount importance — more so than the furnishing a child with the best possible manuals — to inspire a reverence for sacred things, a sensibility to God's presence and attributes, and a consciousness of the weight of human accountability. One of the great benefits of the Sunday school is, that, when well conducted, it is a supplement to the intellectual education of the week-day school. It supplies nutriment to the spiritual nature, and awakens and keeps alive that veneration for divine things which is so liable to waste away in the ordinary school-

day tasks and associations. But in some of our Sunday schools there is such a dread of restraint and discipline, that the children exhibit while in them more levity and more irreverence than in any other place where they meet their superiors. We like freedom and cheerfulness; they are the very element of childhood. But we like also good order and a respect for holy things; and we are so old-fashioned as to think a child should feel some restraint while in the house of God, and while engaged in professedly religious lessons and exercises. If reverence be rejected from these scenes and occupations, we know not how or where it can be preserved alive. The prayers of a Sunday school should be the personal prayer of each child. If a liturgy be used, every one should repeat its language, and in a reverential manner. Is the devotional service extemporaneous? Let the children take the posture of prayer, and be induced each and all to join in it. No amount of merely Biblical instruction can compensate for a careless performance of this service. Are our children apparently thus devout?

We suspect, furthermore, that much of the teaching is not sufficiently practical. It does not quicken and train the conscience. It does not make the children self-sacrificing, firm in purpose, and active in doing good. "It plays round the head, but comes not to the heart." The springs of character are not so reached by it, that from week to week the temper is governed, vanity repressed, envy and jealousy kept in check, and charity with its long train of virtues more and more manifest. We ought not, it is true, to expect too much. The Sunday school is only one among a multitude of good influences suited to benefit the young. But it should do something; we have a right to demand of a ten or twelve years' course of instruction some visible fruits. Have there been all we could reasonably anticipate? Or, laying all the blame we ought at the door of the children themselves, is there not a residue to be ascribed to the teachers? And will not every candid and conscientious spirit be grateful for the suggestion of errors, and means and methods of amendment?

We never dwell on the difficulties of Sunday-school instruction without a wish that more of our parents and the elder members of our congregations could be induced

to take classes in them. Our teachers, as a body, are quite young. We owe them many thanks for their services; some of those we refer to are wise beyond their years, and eminently successful; but still they cannot, as a general rule, do all the work required in their position. There is a preparation which age and experience alone can furnish, yet indispensable for the highest moral and religious culture. Who can portray the shoals and rocks of temptation, like one who has known personally their dangers? Who can impart spiritual knowledge so well as those who have gained it under the difficulties of actual life? A child receives moral good from the mere presence and sympathy of a tried spirit. He learns often far more from this incidental education, than from the wisest of set lessons. These lessons, it is true, are of great importance. We want more of them in our Sunday schools, provided, always, they are of the right character. But here, also, we need the wisdom of experience. It is no easy thing to impress an abstract precept in a way both to profit and please a child. The doctrines of Christianity cannot be taught to advantage by every one who may, for whatever reasons, take a class in the school. Indeed, so difficult is the task, that most teachers utterly neglect it. They wish to interest their children; but how can they do this? Not, certainly, they imagine, by teaching them the doctrines of Christ. Yet we venture to affirm there is no possible instruction so pleasing to a child as this very inculcation of doctrines, when done with ability and fidelity.

What is a doctrine? It is simply a truth. And there is nothing in the whole range of creation so interesting to a child as truth. Tell him a story, and he at once asks, "Is it true?" All the fictions of the wildest imagination owe the hold they take on the mind of childhood to their being conceived, at the time they are heard or read, to be actually true. Teach a child any truth in regard to religion, that is, any doctrine in relation to God, or Christ, or man — and what wonders can you teach him on these themes that are all the simple truth! — and only let the illustration be happy, the language well chosen, and the manner engaging, and you will find him enamored by your doctrinal instruction.

Another error of many of our teachers is, that they do

not visit their children at their homes. This requires, we know, some time; but it is always time well spent. It binds the child to his teacher by a threefold cord. What is said to him is clothed with new power, when he sees this evidence of interest on the part of his teacher. Nor is this all; "whom we bless, we love." The more you do, in whatever way, for your scholars, the stronger is your attachment to them, and the more pleasant is it to meet and instruct them. And finally, where heart is thus joined to heart, the mind of the child is open to knowledge, and the way prepared for the most deep and abiding usefulness to his character.

Let the relation be such as we describe, and the children would not desire to leave the Sunday school so early as they now do. The true theory is, that every one should continue a scholar until of a proper age to take a class himself. In some schools this is customarily done. It could be in all were there a power of attraction sufficient to overcome that miserable pride which makes a child feel himself too old, the moment he enters his "teens," to learn any thing more in a Sunday school. We have known young men remain in their class for years from their interest in a faithful teacher. With young women it is a common occurrence. They object not seldom to becoming teachers themselves, from their attachment to their old class.

For the supply of new teachers every school should have one or more Bible classes, in which they may be regularly prepared. Let our mothers engage in this good work, and especially let the educated men in our parishes take charge of these classes. No one should count it derogatory to his position. We know more than one of our most eminent advocates and members of Congress who are enhancing their high reputation by these truly Christian "labors of love." What better could many of our parents do than to give their wisdom and devotion in this way to the religious culture of the young? It would do thus much, were this all, to obviate the not uncommon objection to the Sunday school, that it destroys the interest of parents in the spiritual education of their children. If the father or the mother would step in as a supernumerary teacher occasionally, we should see less of the neglect in question.

By all methods, indeed, in their power, parents should contribute something to the good of these schools. No one, we presume, with any tolerable conscientiousness, is utterly negligent of the religious instruction of his children. Though he care nothing for their progress in the day school, — as too many apparently at least do, — yet he cannot forget, one would think, while he toils so sedulously for their daily bread, to make any provision for them of the bread of eternal life. But lest he do this, or labor too little for their immortal interest, we counsel that he give his mite, at least, in some form of personal assistance to their Sunday school.

We pass next to the library, the books now furnished for the religious reading of our children. Religious reading, — we have fallen on that phrase; but how far is it from being a true designation of the books ordinarily furnished by our Sunday-school libraries! They have often not the slightest connection with the Scriptures, with spiritual truth, or the child's practical character. Take away the miniature novels, and you have less than a moiety left. Abstract from this the works of history, the lives, perhaps, of Cæsar or Napoleon, or some other equally unchristian heroes, and then take from the shelves the treatises on science or philosophy, and what have you left? What should have been, not the residue, but the main portion of the library. We know that this often happens of necessity. So few good books are written for children, that one is perplexed to find any thing worthy of their Sunday's reading. But we think it better to purchase no new books for the young, than, for the sake of filling our shelves or expending at once the money raised for this purpose, to place in their hands that which can do them no moral service, and may even be a detriment to their conscience and conduct. Fewer books, and more wisely selected, would be the sum of our advice on this point.

And then how worse than useless are our children's books often rendered by their mode of reading them! To look at the engravings, glance at the head of each chapter, and cull the anecdotes, is to know, they imagine, their whole contents. And when once run over in this manner, a book of course becomes old to them, and they never open its pages again. The contrast of this prac-

tice with the method of reading common with the children of the last age, when every volume was conned until each line and letter became familiar, is striking. Its effect on the mental character must be unfavorable, with not a few disastrous.

Another error in some of our schools, in our opinion, is the frequency of general lessons or addresses. We think there is more of speech-making to children in these days than is either pleasant or profitable to them. Not every one can speak to an audience of youth happily, with a wise adaptation of language, illustration, and manner to their age and wants. Nor is it quite natural to confine their volatile spirits by long and elaborate addresses. A brief speech, and that but occasionally, is the true means of interesting and doing them good. The superintendent should not, for more than one reason, be tasked with giving a general exercise, or providing a substitute, at each and every session of the school.

As we are in the vein of strictures, at the risk of being thought in some quarters impertinent, we will add that the Sunday school needs a more efficient support than it now has from the ministry. There are clergymen who do the utmost that can be expected in this regard. But does their spirit characterize the profession in general? We fear not; we think the defects of which we have spoken so freely are to be ascribed, in some cases, quite largely to a lack of interest and effort on the part of the minister. We have seldom, if ever, known a school in high prosperity, while he looked upon it with coldness. His doubts always chill the teacher, and his absence disheartens both children and parents. We know excellent preachers and faithful pastors, who, for various reasons, give little or no countenance to the Sunday school. They regard the teachers, perhaps, as ill-informed, or not competent to instruct. It may be they imagine parents are led by this institution to neglect the religious education of their children. Or they think the school a good thing, but in no need of their especial sympathy and assistance. Is it well, we would ask, to leave so large a field of influence unwatched and unvisited? Here the school is, and here it is likely to continue. Will the evils we complain of be diminished by the absence or indifference of the pastor? To our

minds, as we write, it seems otherwise. Good policy, to look for the moment at no higher principle, requires that he should be earnest and active in counteracting whatever real or apprehended evils may exist in the school.

Or suppose the teachers are considered sufficient to do all the work alone. The case would be singular, if the school was so good that it could not be made better by the presence and aid of the minister. We believe that under all circumstances he can render service both to the teachers and the children. Take a twenty-five years' ministry, during which he has exerted himself to select intelligent and spiritually-minded teachers, and has met them from month to month to impart to them sound Biblical instruction, to elevate their motives and cheer them for their duty, and implored the blessing of God upon their labors; let him have visited the school as often as possible, and spoken now and then a few words to the children; suppose he has selected books for the library, called the attention of parents to the school in his parochial walks, and occasionally preached on the subject, — who can question the good of this course? who measure its influence in a quarter of a century? One fact is certain; while we have never heard a minister who had been thus active in the Sunday school regret his past course, we have heard more than one say he rejoiced in every effort he had made in this direction. Many have testified that in their opinion no field of ministerial usefulness is greater than this. They owed to it the love of the children, their influence over the teachers, and the respect of the parents. It was the most successful portion of their labors, and they considered an efficient Sunday school as the very corner-stone of prosperity to a religious society.

The whole history of this institution is a testimonial in its favor. Making allowance for the defects in its administration, defects incident to all human enterprises, we must say that the clear preponderance of witnesses is on the side of its value. We are admonished by the labors of Channing, Ware, Tuckerman, and men of kindred temper, — not to forget noble examples among the living, — to dismiss our doubts and give it a united and generous support. The errors of the past and the defi-

ciencies of the present alike urge us not to discountenance the institution by word or deed, but address ourselves to the best means and methods of deriving the utmost benefit from it.

Among the new means within our reach at this moment, none is more promising than the introduction of the series of manuals named at the head of this article. It meets a want long felt, and to supply which many attempts have been made. The first advantage of it is that it presents us the joint result of efforts made to this end by several independent and competent minds. An association of gentlemen was more likely to accomplish the difficult task they took in hand, than any one could have been alone. Then the age, experience, and abilities of the authors of these manuals are such as entitle them to confidence. We are slow to offer any criticisms on a series of books produced under such circumstances, and whatever we may say in this direction will have only the value of coming from one more distinct source.

We like this series because it *is* a series. It offers a method of gradual, systematic, progressive instruction in divine truth. The child is conducted, step by step, and from year to year, in the natural order of his mental and religious development. We think the plan of the first little book, "Early Religious Lessons," the true one; namely, to store the memory with passages of Scripture which are simple, practical, and the most important. It is not enough that a child read the Bible, nor yet that we explain to him its contents. The very words should be treasured up in his mind. They must, in most instances, be learned in childhood or never. The difficulty of doing this in later life increases, while the inclination usually diminishes. This is true also of sacred poetry. We can render a little child few benefits greater than that of inspiring him with a love of good hymns, and inducing him to commit them to memory. They will go with him through life, monitors to conscience, animating to devotion, awakening love to God and man, and the solace of many a weary and troubled hour.

We might object, in a few instances, to the language of this little manual, as less simple than early childhood requires; as, for example, to the line on page 31, —

"With our *guerdon* sought and won," —

and to the lines on page 44, —

> "Which hailed, this *matin* hour,
> The holy women on their way."

But this is a slight blemish in a book admirably suited to its great purpose.

We like, also, No. 2, "Palestine and the Hebrew People." It gives a clear idea of the localities of the Bible, leaving it no longer, as it has been to so many, a dream-land, but making each city and town as real to us as those in our immediate vicinity. And the inhabitants of Palestine are made veritable persons like ourselves, not the giants of a fancy creation. Our only doubt is in regard to using this manual like the others, alone, and for a whole year by itself. We think it might be better to let the pupil study it in connection with the rest of the series, especially with Nos. 3, 4, and 5. This would at the same time give additional interest to those books, and prevent the danger of tediousness from dwelling so long a time on merely external circumstances. We are confident that most teachers will wish to diversify its lessons with those of a spiritual character. They will hardly consent to pass an entire year, and one so important to a child as that from ten to eleven, without some explicit instruction of a moral and practical description. And to aid them in giving this instruction, they will desire some additional manual.

The "Lessons on the Old Testament" we heartily welcome. It supplies a want long felt in our Sunday schools, that of a clear, connected, and succinct account of the authors of this part of the Bible, the contents and purposes of its various books, together with biographical sketches of the many remarkable characters they record. Let the teacher acquaint himself with the several works recommended in the Introduction to this manual, and we envy him the happiness of taking his class over this almost untrodden field.

In the "Scenes from the Life of Jesus" the writer adopts the wise method of so blending his own language with that of the Gospels as to render the narrative intelligible to the child, and hence interesting and profitable. This volume, to do its utmost service, requires copious enlargement and familiar illustration. The teacher has now the great theme of Christian instruction before him.

With a well-furnished mind and a disinterested and devout spirit, this manual alone would enable him to lay a good foundation for moral and religious excellence. We like much the series of prayers appended to each lesson. If used aright, they will prove a guard against that irreverence which a familiarity with sacred names and things sometimes occasions. In dwelling on the divine Son and the Redeemer of souls, the pious emotions should never grow cold, but be kindled, on the contrary, to a new intensity.

Manual No. 5 opens a wide field to the pupil. It furnishes only "the *results* of inquiries into the history of the New Testament Scriptures." The teacher is expected to acquire a knowledge of the means by which the conclusions here given were reached. To do this, he must be a diligent reader of such works as those named in the "Note to Teachers." If this is done, the volume will prove exceedingly interesting and valuable to our Sunday schools. We hope it will never become unavailing through the neglect either of teacher or pupil. The New Testament has been sadly misapprehended, from an ignorance of the simple facts comprised here within the brief space of one hundred pages.

The "Lessons upon Religious Duties and Christian Morals" are very full and satisfactory. They seem to us among the most edifying in the whole series. The topics are difficult, and some of them delicate in their nature. But the child is taken through them all with good judgment and high Christian principle. The three lessons upon conscience are admirable; no child can be rooted and grounded in their truths without becoming instinct with the sentiments of piety to God and love to man. The same may be said of other lessons. Indeed, we are grateful for them all.

The manual numbered seven in this series is upon the "Doctrines of Scripture." We think it well adapted to its purpose; it teaches the truths of the Bible in relation to God and Christ and man, chiefly by a reference to Scripture language. This is done, not controversially, but positively, in the main. We like the moderation of the views here expressed; they shun all extremes in theology, while they are replete with His doctrine whose "words are spirit and life." Let this volume be used as

it should be, and we shall hear little more of that oft-repeated question, "What do you Unitarians believe?" Our children will know the true faith, and be able to give a reason for it to the world.

"Scenes from Christian History" very happily concludes this series of books. Although we have only occasional incidents in the long track of Church history, yet they are so presented as to excite a thirst for an extended and full knowledge of the subject. The teacher can hardly do justice to this valuable little work without copious reading by the way, as he meets his class from week to week.

Our last remark leads us to say, that, to enjoy the best fruits of this series of manuals, it is indispensable that every teacher should read more or less books on kindred subjects, as he is teaching his class. But it can hardly be expected that all can purchase so many books with their private means. We recommend, therefore, that every Sunday school establish a teachers' library. Under all circumstances, this has been desirable; but it is now an imperative want.

In summing up our opinion of these volumes, we would say, in general, that they furnish a large amount of systematic instruction on moral and religious truth, as drawn from Scripture and confirmed by Providence in the history of mankind from the earliest period on record down to the present day. They are suited to exercise the mind of the teacher, and incite him to profitable reading. They task, at the same time, the faculties of the child, in a few cases perhaps too severely, but for the most part only so far as to inspire him with interest in the subject of religion, and exert a salutary effect on his intellect, his affections, his conscience and whole character. We shall be disappointed if they do not tend to retain our children longer than they have usually remained in the Sunday school. We think they should be each taken up in turn, excepting, perhaps, Nos. 1 and 2, at the teachers' meeting. Let them come together once in two weeks, for example; let each teacher read other books on the topic for the evening, and then, if the pastor give them the aid of his presence and instruction, they will be qualified to make the best possible use of the whole series.

After so generous a supply of our wants, it may seem ungracious to suggest a call for any thing further. But we will venture to say, that we should be pleased if either of the gifted authors of these manuals would prepare us one, or, if it might be, two, more. We desire to see a book on the connection between the Old and New Testaments, showing us how far Judaism was introductory to Christianity, and what view we are to take of the references and allusions of Christ and his Apostles to the former dispensation and its records. Our heart yearns, also, for a little treatise suited to the Sunday school upon the evidences of Christianity. Not the dry, matter-of-fact details of evidence; of those we have already an abundant supply. What we ask for is a book containing the outward, inward, and experimental proofs of the truth of religion, as deduced from the Bible and sustained by the great current of history and of personal experience. We would see the connections and relations of the several branches of Christian evidence unfolded in a simple and available manner. The task is very difficult; but may not those who have done so nobly in the present series enhance our obligations to them by adding the volumes we suggest?

Meanwhile we await anxiously the lapse of time to test the full value of these manuals. Let them be used with fidelity, and they can hardly fail of their high object. The method of a good text-book is to give truth in the abstract, present its applications, offer one thing at a time, let the steps be short, and the series advance according to nature. This has been done in many of the sciences within our own age; why should it not be in religion? We believe, if not attained to perfection, it has been closely approximated in the little books before us. Give them a full and fair trial, and we think they must succeed; they will then do their share in adding, what we now so much need, a moral and religious culture commensurate to the unprecedented intellectual education of the young. They will inspire a reverence for holy things, a thoroughness of Christian principle, and a deep personal piety, which will show the Sunday school to be entitled to our united and cordial support.

A. B. M.

Art. V.—NATURAL DEPRAVITY AND TOTAL DEPRAVITY.*

We have already offered some remarks upon a recent article in the Christian Review on the subject of Original Sin.† Our notice was, from the nature of the case, mostly critical. We were obliged to deny many of the positions, and to point out objections to some of the arguments, of the Reviewer. But we intimated that there was a positive side to the question, which also deserved our consideration; and that we might again return to the subject, not to deny the errors, but to admit the truths, contained in the commonly received doctrines of Original Sin and Total Depravity. This promise we would now redeem; and, leaving behind us the field of criticism and denial, we wish to inquire with earnestness for the essential facts which give vitality to these popular doctrines.

And, in truth, we need to pursue much more than hitherto we have done this method of investigation. Criticism, at best, is but a barren fig-tree, too often cumbering the ground. Theological controversy is a necessary evil, and only good as preparing the way for the better pursuit of positive truth afterward. To cast out the evil spirit of error, and then leave the house swept and garnished, but *empty*, is preparing the way for the return of the demon, with seven other spirits worse than himself. This is a misfortune incident to all reforming sects and parties. They are obliged to stand too much in an attitude of opposition. Assailed on all sides, their only defence is to strike again, and strike home. Seeing clearly the errors and evils which surround them, and bent on eradicating them, they are always in danger of pulling up the wheat with the tares. For the error which they oppose is often but a truth exaggerated, gone astray, or gone to seed; and, in the pressure of their work, how can these weeders distinguish between plants whose roots are entangled together? Besides this, the attitude of denial and criticism compels a disproportion-

* "*Sin a Nature, and that Nature Guilt.*" Article in the Christian Review for January, 1852.

† *Christian Examiner*, No. CLXXII., for July, 1852.

ate culture of the logical faculty, to the prejudice of the intuitive. It directs attention to accuracy of statement, and verbal contradictions; but indisposes the mind for seeking the substantial truth which often lies hid under the formal error. To these difficulties and dangers the Unitarian reform has been always exposed, and we have suffered fully the evils incident to our position.

For must we not believe, that, in all opinions which have been widely spread and long retained, there is some sanctifying kernel of truth, for the sake of which men are willing to tolerate the apparent error? To think otherwise would be to acquiesce in a doctrine of despair. What hope is there for the future, if the past has been plunged into absolute, irredeemable error? What reason for believing in human progress, if men hitherto have gone in masses absolutely astray? How can we trust in any conclusions of the human reason, if its light has been hitherto only that of an *ignis fatuus*, leading the human race into the Serbonian bogs of hopeless delusion? Far more encouraging, and, as we believe, more in accordance with a true wisdom, is the opinion which recognizes in all the great aberrations of the human intellect truths, as we just now said, gone astray.

And, in respect to the particular subject now in discussion, we may ask why earnest and religious men should be so ready to accuse themselves of being totally and naturally depraved, if there is nothing in their consciousness to encourage such a conviction. It is not one of those pleasant self-deceptions into which people easily fall. It seems opposed, at first sight, to our self-esteem and self-respect. It is opposed, also, to the common language of every-day life. It is opposed to every common system of intellectual philosophy; and it finds very little support in the language of the New Testament. These facts may prove it to be incorrect as a Christian doctrine, but they only make it more difficult to explain its origin, unless we admit that, together with the error, it conveys some obscure but important truth.

Without recanting, therefore, our hereditary opposition to the doctrine of total depravity as it stands in the creeds, but rather strengthening this opposition by new objections and sharper criticisms, let us see what truth we can find hidden beneath the logical error. And we

are prepared to concede, as we intimated in our former article, that there is in man both a natural depravity and a total depravity. But we assert that the natural depravity is not total, and that the total depravity is not natural. In other words, we find in man two kinds of moral evil, which are to be sharply distinguished. One of these consists in tendencies of his nature, the other in volitions of his will. The evil in his nature is mixed with good, and in no case is unredeemed by some elements of a pure and even heavenly quality. The evil in the human will is not inherited, but originates in himself. It flows out of his power of choice, and is only to be explained by reducing it to the greater mystery of human freedom. Let us proceed to elucidate these ideas.

We must first define *natural depravity.* By *natural,* in this phrase, we mean an innate tendency, — something born with us into the world. By calling it *depravity* we imply that it is a degenerate tendency, not implanted by the Creator. But if, on the one hand, it is innate with the individual, and, on the other hand, not belonging to man's nature as at first created, it would seem to follow that the evil taint was either incurred by the soul in a preëxistent state, or transmitted by laws of descent from a vicious ancestry. The first explanation, which is the Platonic one, prevailed in ancient times, both before and after the coming of Christ, and, among the Church Fathers, was especially taught by Origen. But at present the other view is the most prevalent, and finds a support in many facts of common observation. That diseases and physical evils are transmitted from parents to children, we all know. Such diseases will pass by intermediate generations and reappear in subsequent ones. The operation of these laws is obscure, yet every thing shows it to be certain. But our physical nature is not separated by any sharply marked boundary from the moral and intellectual; so that the transmission of physical evil may often involve that of moral evil also. Tendencies to intemperance in eating and drinking, to irritability and violence and the like vices, evidently run in families and in races. The phrenologist adduces many facts to show that such instances are not exceptional, but only more striking manifestations of a universal law. De-

ducing the whole character, intellectual and moral, from the shape of the brain and the temperaments, he considers these to be transmitted like family likenesses and the features of the countenance. Nor is there any objection, on rational grounds, to admitting this to be universally true, after we have once admitted it in part. "It is only the first step which costs." If a *single* individual may become a drunkard because his father was one, there is no good metaphysical reason for denying that we may all be irresistibly influenced in our moral manifestations by the character of our ancestors. We say irresistibly, not meaning to question the power of freedom in man which can react against these tendencies and control them, but to deny that by any act of freedom he can wholly obliterate them and nullify their influence. If he could not control and modify them, he would cease to be responsible; but if he could wholly obliterate them, it would be equivalent to creating for himself a new idiosyncrasy. Such freedom, in fact, would be self-destructive, for it would destroy the personality. Thus far, at least, we tread with certainty along this obscure path. Beyond this, it leads into a more conjectural region. We see that there is in man inherited evil. How much, we do not see. We see that this is partly physical, and partly moral; but what is the reciprocal influence and the limitation of these spheres we do not pretend to say.

It will be seen, therefore, that, however strongly we believe in the reality of human freedom, we cannot regard it as capable of accomplishing every thing. It is a constant element of human nature, but not omnipotent. It can do much, but not all. It is limited by original peculiarities of organization and by acquired habits. A man cannot, by any effort of his will, break away from his own temperament, his idiosyncrasy, and the special laws of his organization. Believing firmly in moral freedom, and rejecting decidedly the doctrine of Necessity under every form, we believe in the one more strongly, and reject the other more decidedly, because we see, *also*, the limitations of freedom.

Recognizing, then, that man's moral freedom is limited by the facts of his organization, we also see that each man's organization is affected, to an indefinite extent, by that of his ancestors. But now it is certain that man by

vicious conduct forms vicious habits, and depraves his moral character. The evil action, being repeated, forms an evil habit; and the existence of this evil habit seems to imply that a constitutional change has taken place. The sin has passed from the will into the organization, from the soul into the blood. It originated as a free act; it terminates in a vicious tendency. And if, as there is no reason to doubt, the vicious tendencies thus originated by an individual are transmitted to his posterity, we see at once ample proof of the existence of a depraved nature in the existing generations of men. And if the first man who lived on earth committed the first sin, that has transmitted a depraved nature to all his posterity: only we must observe that, according to this course of reasoning, the same thing holds of all who succeeded him. Thus, of the existing depravity in the world only an infinitesimal part must be charged upon the sin of Adam; the rest results from the accumulated transgressions of subsequent generations. Moreover, if every sinful act goes to form a vicious habit and a depraved tendency, every act of virtue goes also to form a habit of goodness and a tendency to virtue. Hence the life within us, corrupted by sin and changed into moral death, is revived and renewed by every act of holiness, every effort of virtuous self-denial, every generous and holy deed. The increasing tide of corruption is constantly resisted and checked by the goodness of the pure and good throughout the world.

But the fact of corrupt tendencies in human nature is not merely proved by abstract reasoning; it is likewise established by observation and experience. In how many persons do we see vicious and evil tendencies manifesting themselves so constantly, as to indicate that they result from the fixed law of their organization! Varying in different individuals, they constitute each man's peculiar temptation and besetting sin, — the evil angel of his life. They may be resisted, they may be kept from breaking out into actual evil, they may be deprived, in a great measure, of their power, but they still remain to be watched against with prayer. So we notice, too, in children, from the very first, tendencies to irritability, to obstinacy, to sullenness, to falsehood, to cruelty, which it requires the most careful education to control, and which

probably can never be eradicated. Such facts indicate, not the normal and typical condition of human nature, but one abnormal and depraved.

Beside these proofs of the existence of depraved tendencies in human nature, we have the evidence of consciousness in those who have attained to any deep experience of life. Such convictions, however, are not to be expected in the young. They come as the result of struggle and conflict, defeat and victory; after we have learned to know ourselves and others, and to weigh life at its true value. The Christian, whose faith in God and Christ has grown deep, whose hope of a full redemption is living, whose ideal of holy beauty has become lofty, whose standard of virtue is Christ-like, sees the most clearly the tendencies to evil which are within him. Perhaps such self-knowledge would be too discouraging for one who had not learned to sustain his hope by the deepest experience of the power of the Gospel, and who could not say, "When I am weak, then I am strong." Perhaps it accords with the law of human development that we should have courage at first from confidence in ourselves, and afterward from confidence in God. But how many have we ourselves known, who, beginning life with faith in the omnipotence of the human will, have at last learned to say, with perfect sincerity, "I can do nothing of myself; I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me!"

But this natural depravity, we assert, is not total. The moral evil which exists as a tendency within us coexists with other tendencies to good. This is too apparent to be denied by any who will keep the precise question clearly before them. If we infer depravity in the infant when it is angry, obstinate, wilful, we are bound equally to infer natural goodness when it is cheerful, kind, and obedient. If there is in man's nature a tendency to falsehood, to cruelty, to licentiousness, there is also a tendency to truth, generosity, and self-denial. There is such a thing in man as conscience, reason, affection. There is an instinct of generosity which leads us to risk our own life to save that of another; an instinct of fidelity which leads us to adhere to the truth, and to maintain sincere convictions, though a death of torture be the penalty. The religious sentiment exists

in man as a universal instinct; reverence for that which is noble and lofty is an indestructible element of our nature; the admiration and homage which always attend exalted virtue are themselves evidence of true instincts in human nature. And, in fact, if there were not goodness in man's nature, how could he be capable of repentance and reformation? how could he see and believe the truth? how could his conscience be awakened, or his heart moved? and how could he be responsible or guilty? If man's nature be totally depraved in this sense, he has no power to do right, and therefore is not bound to do it. As far as depravity exists, it excludes guilt. Total depravity would make guilt impossible.

On the one hand, then, we reject the doctrine which makes man holy by nature, angel-born; and which traces all sin to outward circumstances or personal volition. On the other hand, we reject the theory which makes man by nature totally depraved, altogether born in sin, and a companion of devils. Nevertheless, that middle ground does not please us which makes of man only a commonplace character, neither very good nor very evil. There is nothing commonplace about him. There are powers wrapt up in his nature which cannot be kept still, but which are capable of rising to infinite heights of holiness, or sinking to infinite depths of degradation. The angel and the demon are in conflict within him, and life is the theatre of the awful struggle. Man is by nature depraved, and he is by nature holy. And this view seems to be supported by Paul, who says in one place, that we are by nature children of wrath, and in another place, that the Gentiles do by nature that which is right and good.

We have thus considered our first proposition, that there is in man natural and hereditary depravity, but that it is not total. We will now attempt, in like manner, to elucidate our second proposition, that there is in man total depravity, but that it is not natural.

Strictly speaking, however, the word *depravity* is not the proper one to use in this connection. For the moral evil of which we now speak does not exist as a tendency, but belongs to the exercise of freedom. We may properly speak of depraved, degenerate, or corrupt tendencies of the nature, but not of a depraved or corrupt

will. Each volition of the will springs fresh and uncorrupt from the fount of freedom, unaffected by any previous volitions. The proof of this is, that, as soon as the will changes its aim and direction, it is as easy for it to pursue the new path as if it had not habitually trodden the old. It can choose the new course with ease, however hard it may be to carry it out in conduct. Or, as Paul says, "To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not."

There are, then, two kinds of moral evil or sin in man; the one existing as a depraved tendency in his natural organization, the other as a wilful misdirection of his efforts. The first is depravity, but not guilt; the other is guilt, but not depravity. The first is natural, but not total; the other total, but not natural. But why total? Simply because no man can serve two masters. If he loves the first, he hates the second. If he loves the second, he hates the first. That is to say, man, by the necessity of his being, must have one highest aim at every moment. This aim must be to serve God, to do right, to follow Jesus in the love of humanity, or else it must be some selfish aim more or less disguised, more or less refined. But selfishness in all its forms separates the soul from God, and produces a total alienation. There is no half-way service; there is no neutrality. "He who is not for me is against me," says Jesus in one passage. "He who is not against us is with us," he says in another. Both statements imply the same thing, — that compromise and neutrality are impossible. The same idea is conveyed in other passages of the New Testament. For example, by James: "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all"; the meaning of which evidently is, that, if one wilfully disobeys in the smallest particular, the principle of obedience is wholly wanting. He who breaks the law in one point is not as depraved as he who breaks it in many, but he is as guilty. He is not as bad a man as if he disobeyed in many things, but only as bad in this one respect of the condition of the will. The same thing appears from the opposite statements in the New Testament concerning the condition of the man whose will is united with the Divine will. It is said of him by the Apostle John, that he "commits no sin";

that he "dwells in God, and God in him." And Paul, speaking in the character of one who has determined to do right, says, that though he does wrong actions, it is not he that does it, but the sin that dwells in him. All this means, that the man who wills to do right is not *guilty* when he does wrong; but he is still, though not guilty, depraved and miserable so far as he does wrong.

It may be objected, however, that the choice of evil rather than good does not imply a total sinfulness, because this guilt is capable of being aggravated; and also because, though the governing choice and ruling aim may not accord with God's will, many secondary volitions may so accord. We admit both these facts. Nevertheless, we doubt whether they ought essentially to modify our position so far as the attitude of the soul toward God and eternity is concerned. The great, absorbing question concerning the soul is this: In which direction does it move, — toward God, or toward self? If it is going from God, if it is moving downward, it does not much matter whether it is going slowly or rapidly. The direction is every thing. The intensity of movement is of comparatively little moment. And if one is going from God, it does not help the case much that his path occasionally bends backward, allowing him a transient glimpse of that heavenly city which is nevertheless steadily receding behind him. We need to lay more stress than we do on the general purpose of our life, — its ruling motive, its leading aim. It is this which glorifies or debases all secondary and minuter details. It is this which determines what manner of spirit we are of. If the great bias of the will is toward the everlastingly true and fair, all secondary virtues and lesser graces will grow up almost spontaneously in the character. But if the ruling aim is a false one, it will by degrees cherish and develop all forms of falsehood and evil.

The author of the article in the Christian Review has very justly insisted on the fact, that the human will is not merely a number of separate volitions, chance-determined, but a determinate habit of choice out of which these separate volitions proceed. The human will has a unity of its own, and acts not wilfully, but according to its law, whatever that may be. It is always under law, and when it seems most capricious and wilful, it is then

the most under law. There is a law of the mind and a law of the members; a law of God and a law of sin; and we are the servants either of sin unto death or of obedience unto righteousness. Such Scriptural expressions imply that sin is not an accident nor an isolated act, but a permanent state of the soul.

Moreover, we must see what is implied in the fact of alienation from God which accompanies the misdirection of the will. For Scripture, observation, and our own consciousness show that all wilful disobedience to the law of right is accompanied by a dislike to the thought of God. There is an essential repugnance between the thought of a holy God and the determination to commit evil. They cannot long remain together in the same mind. It has truly been said, "He who continues to pray must leave off sinning: he who continues to sin must leave off praying." The thought of a holy God, so comforting to the good man, is intolerable to the bad man. It is something which he is unable to bear. It arouses his conscience and causes self-reproach and shame, to escape from which he must determine not to think of God at all. Thus is established an alienation, if we do not call it an enmity, which leaves the soul separate from God, and therefore deprived of the chief means of the recovery to goodness. There is a deep but determined purpose to seek a selfish happiness, unrebuked by the sense of the Divine presence. And this kind of sinfulness justifies the use of the word *total*, since the current of the soul is thus made to move unchecked and unrestrained in a false direction.

This kind of evil, proceeding from the will, is essentially guilt. It is guilt because accompanied with knowledge of what is right and wrong, and the power to choose the one or the other. Here alone, in the region of the will, is the sphere of responsibility. Wilful sin is *guilt*, but not depravity. Depravity of nature is *not* guilt, though evil and wretched. The word *sin* — the definition of which is, the violation of the moral law — includes both kinds of moral evil, — where the law is violated from the impulse of a depraved tendency, and where it is violated by the free choice of what is known to be wrong. It is necessary to distinguish these two forms of sin, for various reasons, and especially that the conscience may be successfully appealed to. In order to

rouse the conscience, we must place the weight of responsibility where it really belongs. We must hold men responsible for their wilful choice, and not for their depraved tendencies. These tendencies are not guilt, but the consequences of guilt, — either our own, or that of others. If our own, they are punishment; if that of others, they are trial.

If what we have said be true, it will be seen how superficial is that view of sin which makes it something purely negative and a mere matter of degrees, — of excess or deficiency. According to this somewhat popular view, sin is only a little too much or too little virtue. All vices are excessive virtues. Now, if sin was merely a thing of tendency, there might be a foundation for this view. But such an explanation of moral evil plainly overlooks that fixed determination of the will which says, "Evil, be thou my good." The awful faculty of the will in its sleepless activity will not permit man to be a mere negation in any thing. Positively and freely the soul ascends on strong pinion toward God, — with as positive and free a choice it moves downward into darkness and woe. It is this which gives such deep solemnity and pathos to the history of every human life. The tragic interest consists in the complexity of the problem; in the conflict between a fixed purpose and steadfast tendencies, — between the necessity of Nature and Fate and the omnipotence of Freedom. The wonder passes away the moment that we accept any of those easy theories of human nature which are so pleasant to the understanding from their inexhaustible explanations, but only because they omit and overlook half of the facts in the case.

It will also follow, from the view we have taken, that our ideas of human ability will be modified. While the main choice is a selfish one, man *is not free* to do right. While he yields himself to be a servant of sin, he cannot be obedient to righteousness. Out of the heart proceed evil or good thoughts, evil or good actions. Where his heart goes, the man follows. He may fancy he is free because he does what he wishes to do; but he is the slave of his own desires and passions. He discovers his slavery when he resolves in any thing to do differently, without changing at the same time the ruling motive of his life. He will then soon discover how truly he is a slave, and that the only way to freedom is by an entire

change, which will modify all the details of his life, in giving a new direction to his highest choice.

This, again, shows us the ground of regeneration, and its necessity. It is not merely the change of the ruling motive by turning to God, which is conversion, nor forsaking sin, which is repentance. Regeneration implies these, but more. It implies the beginning of a new moral life, in which goodness is not merely obeyed, but loved. It implies that the soul, having turned in its ruling choice from evil to good, has been filled with the love of God, by which this choice is made permanent and thorough. If there was no such thing as estrangement there would be neither basis nor necessity for this new and higher life. But of these questions we have no space now to treat.

We hope that the distinctions which we have endeavored to establish will not be regarded as unimportant ones, nor as mere subtilties without practical influence. If they are false, let them be shown to be so; but if true, let them not be disregarded as unimportant. We may carry too far our dread of analysis; for though not the highest action of the intellect, it is often very necessary by way of preparation, before any new truth can be elicited. Before going to work in the morning, a mechanic separates and puts in their places the tools and materials, which before the end of the day he will have again mixed together. Thus theory must continually distinguish that which practice will continually confound. We may not ever find those forms of evil existing separately in the human soul which it may still be very necessary to distinguish in our thoughts, in order to apply to each its proper remedy. A single accurate distinction may often be the means of enabling us to overcome the greatest practical difficulties. Nor can such speculations as these be useless, if they inspire us with any wholesome awe in view of the spiritual nature of man. For well says the poet, —

> "Not Chaos, not
> The darkest part of lowest Erebus,
> Nor aught of blinder vacancy, scooped out
> By help of dreams, can breed such fear and awe
> As fall upon us often when we look
> Into our minds, into the mind of Man."

J. F. C.

Art. VI. — BUCKINGHAM'S PERSONAL MEMOIRS.*

If the former work of Mr. Buckingham, of a similar complexion to the present, was received by the public with great favor, we are sure that this will find still more. The two preceding volumes, devoted principally to newspaper literature, covered ground that was worth occupying, and covered it well. The universal and hearty commendations of the press showed its sense of their merit, and bore witness to the ability and good service of the veteran editor. We hope the sale equalled the praise; though we have no confidence in that, for the book seemed particularly suited to such as have acquired an interest in that peculiar department of labor and learning, and in its history among ourselves. The present publication, however, though it still deals very much with the incidents of a long editorial life, brings them all within a biographical range, and makes them part of a personal memoir. It has thus a greater unity and a deeper hold than could have been obtained by any more desultory performance. It has a word for every body, and it is a word both touching and instructive. All will find something engaging in the reading of it, and few persons who have been observers of what has passed in our community for the last thirty years will fail to perceive many remembrances of their own, intermingling and running parallel with those of the author. They to whom his subjects are new will be pleased to learn of so faithful a chronicler; and they to whom they are familiar will take a greater pleasure still, in retracing the events and reviving the feelings of a former day.

Mr. Buckingham has little to say of his ancestor who came over in the Mayflower; and, indeed, seems to care very little about that doubtless very worthy personage. Some of our genealogical friends may possibly feel slightly scandalized, that more complacency had not been expressed at the thought of so venerable a descent. He passes it almost scornfully by, and sets us down in his

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* *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life.* By Joseph T. Buckingham. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. 2 vols. pp. 256, 255.

father's birth-year, 1740, at Mansfield, Connecticut. Without a word of unnecessary delay, he brings us to that father's death, when he himself was only between three and four years old. Then follows a description of the trials, exposures, sufferings, of an impoverished and desolated home, which is as simple as nature and truth, and yet scarcely to be matched in pathos from the pages of a romance. If any one ever reads it with dry eyes, he certainly will not be able to justify himself from our example. We have heard some friends say that Goldsmith or Irving could not have written it better. We do not dissent from such a judgment. But we would rather say, that scarcely was it written at all. It is plaintive speech directly out of the heart. It is the spontaneous utterance of a sensitive and meditative spirit. It sounds like the whisper or the echo of a wail. It looks as if steeped in the tears that had done flowing for a long time. The child's impressions, stamped upon a perpetual memory, at the sight of a dead father, the mingled anguish and trust of a religious mother, and the pitiable lot of a scattered family, were never presented with fewer touches, or with a more effective, because wholly inartificial, eloquence.

We were a good deal struck with the account that he gives us of his early fondness for books, and the scanty assortment of them that fell in his way; with his reading over and over again, in his childish and boyish days, the same nursery stories, and the same sacred writings, in prose and verse. What could be better than the Bible, and the Dr. Watts which he could say all by heart? We agree too, entirely, in the judgment which his mature years pronounce against the custom, not so prevalent now as in former times, of setting to the young mind the irksome and unprofitable, if not mischievous, task of reading through the whole of both Old Testament and New in regular course. There is something strangely absurd in such a method. It reminds us of the inquisitive Hindoo, who, desiring to acquaint himself from original sources with the Christian religion, began with Genesis, but, when he had reached as far as the middle of Leviticus, gave out. Children never give out. They will go over all the names in Numbers, and almost fancy some mystery in every hard syllable. They will

plod patiently through Job, where King James's translators have left scarcely a trace of intelligible meaning. Hosea and the obscurer prophecies shall appear to them no darker than the Proverbs of Solomon. They will feel that there is something tender, of one kind or another, in the Song of Songs, and receive no harm from the perusal of it, though it is said to have been interdicted to the Hebrew youth till they had come to years of discernment. The dreariest wastes of wild history will be so enlivened for them, that they will be aware of little but the sound of their own pleasant and emulous voices, as they pass along. And when they come to the New Testament, the ruggedest arguments and the most local logic of the Apostle Paul will not puzzle them half so much as they do the most learned scholars in Christendom. They will read, what was Mr. Buckingham's juvenile terror, the closing book, — that magnificent riddle, which, whatever its merit may be, is rather strangely entitled the Book of Revelation, — with an eager curiosity, till, like him, they are almost suffocated with the vapors of the sulphury pit, and shrink into themselves from the bite and sting of the monster locusts, that were like horses and lions and scorpions all in the same body. They will do and suffer all this, and then start for the repetition of the same task again and again. But why should they be put to such a trial? We trust that at this time of the world's day they very seldom are: And yet we are constrained to add, better so a thousand times, than that the assiduous reading of the Holy Scriptures should be neglected by the young; or that it should be deferred till after-life, under the short-sighted pretence that they will not understand, or that they will misunderstand, or that their unready minds will get filled with prejudices. Better a thousand times, than that these sacred lessons should either be postponed for an idle will, or give place to the vapid and unnutricious, the stimulating and poisonous trash, with which the reading public is now deluged. We may wait for ever for the child to understand, or for the more than child to acquire a taste for the toil of learning. He must be trained up to understand by something beyond and above him. He must learn to reverence and love before he knows, and on the way to knowing. What, we ask again,

is so favorable towards making one a good thinker, and a good writer, and a good man, as to be imbued from the beginning with the influences of the Great Volume? It is a blessed privilege to have been trained so. And then that Isaiah of hymnists! Who would not think it more suited to invigorate the healthful growth of his boy's mind, to be able to repeat though but half a hundred of the noblest of those lyrics, than if his memory could be stored with the whole poetry of the wordy and the mystifying bards whose names are now most in the ascendant?

We are persuaded that the writer of these Memoirs is greatly indebted to the discipline just mentioned for the cast both of his thoughts and style. Indeed, he himself seems to be aware of this. Though he speaks modestly of it, he admits the fact. But another thought has occurred to us in reading his unaffected recital, which will sound better from us than it would from him, even if he agrees with us in the opinion. It is, that there may be a very considerable advantage in having but few books at command, and in the consequent necessity of conning the same with patient and reiterated attention. Here is another example, in a crowd of instances, where outside need turns to profit within, and it is better to lack than to abound. The mind exerts itself the more by repeated acts in the same direction. By frequent revolving of the same words and themes of instruction, it fixes them, — and fixes itself also, which is a great deal better. It thus learns to reflect; for it has time for reflection. It is saved from being hurried and frittered away by a succession of novelties, that never stay long enough to become familiar or to grow into fruitage. O the blessing of being driven to old almanacs, "and such small deer," when the opening mouth of the intellect is hungry for its meat! More shall be found there oftentimes than in the most abundant spread of pretending dainties. This is too much overlooked in our method of education now-a-days. Instead of the healthful maxim of ancient wisdom, "Much and not many," the most profuse variety of entertainment — entertainment, and not exercise and labor — is sought for the pupil. One would think, from the practice of many teachers, that they supposed the young mind was of the nature of a wallet, into which

the greatest quantity of things was to be most diligently packed; or like a chest of drawers, building up into a bigger chest and more drawers, where ever so many papers and bundles are to be labelled and ticketed and stowed away. How do they contrive to forget that it is a live organ, self-developing and divine, demanding to be employed and ruled and cultivated, and not to be stuffed? It is one of the crying errors of our schools, at this very hour, thus to consider the book more than the boy, and to apply only mechanical processes to his active spirit. They are not content to teach him a few things thoroughly well, but by aspiring to communicate a little of every thing, they fail of the whole. They thus leave nothing properly done; a precious opportunity for inculcating habits of sober, intelligent application is for ever lost, and the faculties themselves are dissipated and jaded and loosened, as well as untutored.

But we must not digress too far or long from the subject of this autobiography. He despatches the whole history of his minority in thirty pages, closing this introductory portion with an affecting scene of parting from his poor, pious mother, and with her religious death; and then, at about the outset of the new century, with his trudge to Boston, where, or in its neighborhood, he has since spent his days. If these thirty pages were the whole book we should say more about them, so much food do they present for "sweet and bitter fancy." The "recollections of his editorial life" follow, and make up the rest of his work. The story of his long, and sometimes troubled and stormy career in this department of labor, is related with a spirit of frankness, moderation, and candor, which does him great honor. He stood in the attitude of a combatant more frequently, we believe, than any of his brethren of the press. He usually began the assault; and he was a hard hitter, as we all remember. He gave and took with a sturdy resolution that always scorned to show the least sign of fear. This spirit led him, not only into altercations, but vexatious lawsuits. In the early years of the "Galaxy," he was the terror of empty shows and false pretensions, against which he meant that his satire and sharp shot should be chiefly directed. He was spoken of, far and near, for what it was common to call his bitterness and audacity.

When he was pointed out to strangers in the towns that he happened to visit, they were surprised at the meek figure and unmartial face of so celebrated a doer of battle. Many even of our best citizens had harsh thoughts towards him, that did him no manner of justice. No justice, we say; for, though he struck often at those who were at the time objects of popular admiration, it is singular as we look back to see how well deserved, in the main, were his severest censures. This ought to be mentioned and borne in mind, for his defence, if not to his credit. His "libels" were terribly apt to be truths. Due justice and a public service were often done, when there was most complaining among the dissentient, and most wincing among the interested and exposed. No paper of his conducting ever loved to be the organ of petty malice, or consented to be the pander of corrupt passions, or stooped to levy contributions on the criminal or the timid. It was not his way to lurk, or to "shoot privily." The shamelessness and recklessness that have since disgraced some of the baser portions of the newspaper press he was a stranger to. Neither was his warfare the greater part of his work, though, of course, it engaged the most of the public attention. He could be tender as well as caustic: and many were the touches of beautiful sentiment, and the tones of religious meditation, and the lessons of sober wisdom, interspersed among his light jeers and heavy charges. He did not go out of his path to seek low objects of attack. He struck at what was conspicuous, and with an open aim. He had no taste for vulgar detraction. He was no scandal-hunter, no defamer of private reputation. What he said, he seems to have thought that the public ought to know. If the mask was to be plucked from the face of some itinerant clerical intriguer, while crowds were flocking to his ministrations; if the philosopher's cloak was to be pulled aside, that covered up the hollowness of some literary pretender or self-exalted reformer, while he was in the height of his popularity; if some arrogating foreigner, — for Mr. Buckingham has always been a stout patriot, as became the son of a father who impoverished himself by loans to his country in her neediest day, — if such a foreigner took upon himself more than became him, relying on his official importance or the accidental favor of

the hour, — that was a case which he seized upon with peculiar zest. And he did not easily quit his hold, nor were his gibe and his mark soon forgotten. We do not say that he always appeared to so much advantage, or that he could always be vindicated or excused with so good a conscience. Far from it. We wish it had been so, and nobody wishes this so much as himself. In such a course as that which he was led to pursue, it was difficult to avoid errors in judgment and occasional excesses of acrimony. These he frankly confesses in the work before us. We have to consider, also, that the correspondents, witty and sharp, that are naturally drawn around so fearless an editor, would not always abstain from a savageness of sport which he could neither approve nor wholly forbid. When such a correspondent, however, shrinks from abiding by the consequences of what he has written, and leaves his publisher to pay the cost (Vol. I. p. 119), we think we perceive a meanness of delinquency, by the side of which great sins of the tongue and of the pen might look very venial.

We have been led to enlarge upon these points more than we should otherwise have done, for the sake of adverting with the greater effect to what we regard as the fair and moderate and kindly spirit of these volumes. Though they retrace so many topics of angry dispute and irritating remembrance, they are perfectly dispassionate. A candid disposition seems to pervade them in every part; and their temper is so tranquil, that we might suppose he was relating of some other person the feuds and troubles which must have ruffled so deeply the composure of his earlier years. No rancor is discovered by so much as a word. No flash of resentment escapes from the buried fires, as he turns them over with a quiet hand. This is admirable. This is instructive. Some critics will be inclined to see in it only the advantage of a distant point of view from the scenes of an old strife, and the mellowing influence of time. But we do not look at it so.

"Old age ne'er cools the Douglas blood";

and we are confident that the instances are exceedingly rare, where a malevolent heart surrenders its gall and its grudges to that advancing season which is proverbially

wronged with the title of "morose," as its pleasures are apt to become abridged and its annoyances to be multiplied. We see in it an evidence, if such was wanted, of the absence, from the beginning, of all malicious intent. We see the exercise of a humane spirit, if of an impetuous one that was not easily pleased.

We are afraid that we have trespassed too much upon private feelings in what we have said already. But we hope to be pardoned if we offend once more in the same direction. In reflecting on the great reserve which the writer of these Memoirs has put upon himself where those feelings have been most concerned, we paused at the single half-line, "I married, and became a housekeeper." It is all that he allows himself to say, — perhaps all that he thought it becoming, or that he could bear to say, — as to the most important providence of his life. As we feel withheld by no such restraint, we will say on, a little. He might have thought that, while his wife was spared to him, her exemplary worth was its own best praise, and when he lost her it did not become him to speak her eulogy. We respect that sensibility. And yet one of the most distinguished English writers now living dedicates his three volumes of poems "to her who has made the poetry of life reality"; and is it possible to chide such a tribute of affection? We know little of the reality or romance, the poetry or the humble prose, of other men's existence. There is probably an abundance of the more ethereal kind wherever there are susceptible natures. We cannot but suppose that it was an element unusually large in the experience of such a man as we have just referred to. For he was trained to the most refined tastes, exercised constantly in elegant letters and the most purifying intellectual labors, favored by fortune, conspicuous in station, and surrounded with the acquaintance of the most cultivated persons in his aristocratic land. He left but lately a mansion fit to be the residence of the historian of two religions, having the cloister-wall of Westminster Abbey as the boundary of its garden, to inhabit the still more venerable deanery of St. Paul's. But we must not make too much account of such things. The affections of human hearts, and the sacred tenderness of their rela-

tions, are happily little dependent on flattering or frowning circumstances. Our author connected his inward and outward life, when he "married," with one whose gentle firmness and devoted attachment were of unspeakable value to him. She made the gloom clear up of many a dark day. She made many a troubled hour serene, many a drooping one hopeful, many a perplexed one fixed in its purpose, many an irritated one patient, many an embittered one sweet. She made the paths of life that were rough and arduous pleasant with her companionship, and the least desirable realities of the world rich with the poetry of a better portion. With a spirit that always turned gratefully towards the light, and that was saintly in its own endurances, instinctively considerate of every womanly duty, and filled to overflowing with kind affections, she has left an invaluable influence, as well as an endeared memory, behind her.

Our readers will not find fault with us, we hope, for having been led thus to speak more of the author, and of subjects which he suggests, than of the book before us. We shall make no apology for this, because the nature of the book itself seems to us to present a sufficient one. The two volumes are for the most part divided between what relates to the "New England Galaxy" and to the "Boston Courier"; the two papers to which his literary activity was mainly devoted. The former of these took up more than eleven years, from the spring of 1817 to late in the autumn of 1828. As we have already indicated, it was an object of great public attention during all that time. It was so free and pungent that it became the talk of all circles, and it was looked for with avidity even by those who did not usually relish its contents. The "Courier" immediately followed, which was also a publication of his own enterprising. As this was a journal, issued daily, and not, like its predecessor, but once in a week, it demanded and received his unremitted care. His hand was not withdrawn from it till his twentieth year of service had nearly expired; and even then from motives in which his conscience as a public man bore the principal, if not the only, part. Under his management it acquired a high reputation for ability, and for the most free-spoken independence. By those qualities it challenged the respect of political opponents. Where

its doctrines were not received, its downrightness, and its uprightness too, gained no unfrequent favor. If its temper was sometimes objected to, its honesty was commended. It stood stoutly for the old Federal principles; for a wise civil and social and moral conservatism. It was a steady and leading advocate for the protection of American industry against foreign competition. Many a just and useful cause found in it a hearty champion; and all the more promptly if the cause happened to be an unpopular one. The editor's own pen was ready, skilful, sharp, and strong. His compositions were remarkable for their purity in the use of the English tongue. His familiarity with the best authors, and especially with the great old masters of the language, was of essential advantage to him. Few knew so well as he where to choose a shaft that had not too often been used before, either from the wizard armory of Shakspeare or from the less accessible and less familiar treasures of dramatic literature. In spirit he was most persevering and fearless. People might call him wrong-headed or violent, if they would; but they could not accuse him of ever being mean, or deceitful, or wilfully untrue. So open was his detestation of all trickery and double-dealing, of every thing that Mr. Carlyle would call a "wind-bag," or that is described in a book which we all revere as "vain-glory and hypocrisy," that he would well have become a mark for scorn if his deed had belied his profession. But such a mark to be pointed at he never for a moment became, whatever hostility his supposed perverseness, his over-free or over-excited speech, may have stirred up in the minds of not a few excellent persons.

The portion of his work pertaining to this newspaper abounds with pleasant anecdotes of persons and things, and with selections from the contributions of his literary friends, such as enlivened the pages of his first volume. And then, as he began with memoirs that were more strictly personal of his early life, he makes an end in a similar manner, with incidents and reflections which are disconnected from any particular professional interest. We have mentioned the touching pathos of his opening narrative. There is something of the same kind also in the affecting simplicity with which his story is closed. It moves us to say back to him, as we shut his book:

"Yes, sir. 'In giving the results of a controversy, you *have* been guiltless of misrepresentation of yourself or your opponents.' No, sir. 'Nothing herein contained *will* tend to revive animosities, the remembrance of which has been lost in the slumber of years, or injure the feelings of any individual by recalling matters which Time in his flight will soon place beyond our reach.' We rejoice that in you, 'as with the poor Franciscan of Calais, Nature has done with her resentments, and that, like him, you can let fall the staff within your arm, press your hands with resignation upon your breast, and retire.' Not, however, as that monk retired from the eye and page of Sterne, to be seen again no more; but, as we hope, to find something yet to do for the cause of good learning, good order, good morals, and the general welfare and improvement which, we believe, you have always had sincerely at heart." N. L. F.

Art. VII. — SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT-BOOKS.*

The excellent Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education complains in one of his Annual Reports of the evil of inordinate school-book making. It is an evil indeed. The houses of many of us are overflowing with the results of this misdirected industry and mercantile enterprise, so that not a few are obliged to refuse admis-

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* 1. *A Treatise on the Structure of the English Language, or the Analysis and Classification of Sentences and their Component Parts, with Illustrations and Exercises, adapted to the Use of Schools, by* Samuel S. Greene, A. M., Principal of the Phillips Grammar School, Boston. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. 258.

2. *An English Grammar on Synthetical Principles, illustrated by Exercises for Grammatical Analysis, with Numerous Examples of False Syntax; adapted to all Classes of Learners.* By George Spencer, A. M., Late Principal of the Utica Academy, N. Y. New York: Mark H. Newman & Co. 1851. pp. 178.

3. *Mitchell's Intermediate Geography.* Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 4to. pp. 80.

4. *First Phonetic Reader.* Cincinnati: Longley & Brother, Phonetic Publishers. 1851. pp. 72.

5. *The Polish-American System of Chronology, reproduced, with some Modifications, from General Bem's Franco-Polish Method, by* Elizabeth P. Peabody. Boston: 13 West Street. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. pp. 216.

sion to any further specimens of school literature, a course, we may add, which, could it be generally adopted, would go far to cure the evil referred to, though it might expose us to the loss of an occasional prize. We have been in the habit of sounding the praises of "unlicensed printing." Is it not time to bestow a few thoughts upon the other side of the matter? Mr. Hallam, in a note to his History of Literature, relates that Erasmus, in the year of grace 1497, searched all Paris in vain for a Greek grammar; he could find a copy neither of Constantine nor of Urban. The case was probably thought a very hard one, and so it was, yet such a state of things was not without its advantages; for, a Greek grammar once got hold of, one might hope to enjoy some leisure for mastering its contents. We had once a vague intention of making an estimate of the various school-books that have been published within the last dozen years in our own country, but we were soon glad to return the bulky trade-catalogues to the bookseller and abandon an enterprise which threatened to be quite too formidable. One of their own prophets being witness, the grammarians have given us three hundred different English grammars. This statement covers, we presume, both English and American productions. If the School Committees of our Commonwealth should attempt, conscientiously, to examine even any considerable portion of the books which are continually offered for introduction into our public schools, they would find little time for any other reading. Why not cause all this to cease, for a decade of years at least, and make the best use of what we have, and see where we are, and endeavor to have some teachers trained to turn to good account a portion of our already superabundant material?

Do we really advance enough, as we multiply labors of this kind, to justify the demand upon the time of authors, printers, and teachers, and the pockets of parents? We fear not. There lies upon our table a rather ancient and sere and autumnal, yet highly respectable volume, which claims to be an "Abridgement of the New and Complete System of Arithmetick, composed for the Use, and adapted to the Commerce, of the Citizens of the United States, by Nicolas Pike, Esq. For the Use of Schools, and will be found to be an easy and sure Guide

to the Scholar." Our copy is one of the second edition, published in 1795, by that famous old printer and historian of printing, Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester. The Presidents of Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth severally commend the work to the public. The Hollis Professors of Theology, and of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, unite with President Willard in describing it as "the best calculated of any single piece we have met with, to lead youth by natural and easy gradations," &c. They also delight themselves in the hope, that by means of the publication "money will be saved in the country which would otherwise be sent to Europe." Whether they were justified or not in expressing this opinion upon a matter of political economy, we leave to be decided, in all charity, by our readers. Now, we are free to confess, that, were it not for the golden hue of the leaves, we could content ourselves with our old arithmetic, and if the question were between this and the importunacy of the itinerant agents, we should say decidedly, reprint the old book.

A degree of competition is desirable in the school-book trade as in every other; it is well enough to change school-books at long intervals, especially when those in use have been worn out. There have been from time to time, and there will be again, improvements in these works; occasionally a very gifted teacher will find sufficient reason for publishing his best school manuals; but there can be no justification for the flood of dreary-looking productions that are conveyed in the carpet-bags of courteous agents from town to town, and from door to door. There can be no excuse for the practice of pertinacious urgency which almost compels one to sacrifice either his time or his manners. The temptation to manufacture school-books is just now very strong, but it must be manfully encountered, like any other temptation. A work of this kind, well introduced, is a perfect mine of California to the happy proprietor, especially if the legislature can be induced to purchase it for the people, with the people's money.* A teacher who has made

* We would not be understood to reflect upon the legislation which has supplied the Public Schools of Massachusetts with English dictionaries at the public expense, though we think that it would have been much wiser to have given both Webster and Worcester, if either. As it is, the schools

some discoveries in the course of many years' experience may well have something to communicate, but, for the most part, all that is essential in this way can be put into a modest pamphlet, or into the preface to some new edition of a standard work; it can seldom be necessary to "get up" an entire set of books for the sake of illustrating it, — to hunt the precious idea through a series of reading-books and courses of grammar and arithmetic. The whole matter needs to be thoroughly investigated. At present it is in an utterly chaotic state, a confusion from which we start back dismayed. One thing, however, is certain, that it is an evil, and only an evil, to flood our schools with books which, whilst they profess to be new, are only the old books rearranged a little or slightly modified. A jealous conservatism in this matter will prove the wisest policy.

We have called attention to this subject, not from any hope of exhausting it, but only from a desire to throw out a few practical suggestions which may be of service to those who are incessantly compelled to grapple with it, in all its wearisome details. We believe that some good will have been accomplished if those who have a charge in this matter can be persuaded to rear a strong barrier against the encroaching tide of pedagogic manuals, to look upon every new-comer with a degree of coldness and suspicion, to take no especial pains to be at home when the philanthropists who give in exchange new books for old make their appearance, and occupy the hours which should be sacred to instruction with their friendly calls. Said an honest farmer to us once

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that made choice of Webster are supplied with a good *definer*, but an indifferent *speller*, whilst those that made choice of Worcester have a good *speller*, but a comparatively indifferent definer. Why should Webster's spelling be fastened upon the next generation of writers by the vote of the school committees of the State? We are rejoiced that the absurd proposition (so we must call it) for supplying each District School in the Commonwealth with anatomical charts was negatived. Physiology is a profitable study, and may be pursued into a few practical details in the District Schools, but a few plates would exhaust every exigency that could possibly arise for many years, as education is advancing or is likely to advance, and the plates in the books are entirely sufficient. It would be well worth the while to secure the attendance of the friends of this project upon a course of lectures from these grim pictures by one of our district school teachers, who are for the most part young women. Would it not be well for the State to send with the charts some anatomical demonstrators?

about an officious proselyte-maker, "I have got him so now that he does n't call." It is unhappily a condition to which it is occasionally necessary to bring men, our brethren.

School-books often come to us with a loud claim to originality. We are almost asked to believe that, in the particular department to which a work belongs, there has been no Past, and the issue is represented as the entirely new coinage of the author's brain. It would be a curious and instructive undertaking, and it would serve to moderate these pretences, for one with the requisite learning to trace our present manuals back to their real sources. Revision differs greatly from creation. We should be glad to know how much of the *materiel* of our school-books was virtually, or even actually, in the hands of the pupils who attended the Conventual Schools of Armagh, Canterbury, Rheims, or Tours, or the Cathedral Schools of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, or Bremen; we should be glad to know how much has come to us from the old Roman and Grecian grammars, how much from the mathematical treatises which were used in the Spanish Arabian schools, etc. The accumulations of each age are sifted, compressed, rearranged, corrected, and we gain in this way works which are the results of all past labors in the same direction. Some of the old books are authorities still. The Atlas of Ortelius, for example, is mentioned as deserving this praise, although the first edition was published as early as A. D. 1570, when so much of the earth was still unknown. It would be easy to multiply titles of the old school-books, becoming as we move on from the past, with some important exceptions, continually more and more intelligible and less expensive, though we are inclined to think that the comparative cheapness of modern books has been greatly overrated; for it is to be considered that, in place of the excellent paper and binding of a century ago, we now have the most execrable materials and work. Hallam speaks favorably of the *Catholicon* of Balbi, printed by Gutenburg, in 1460. It contained a Latin grammar and dictionary. After Balbi we have Papias and Calepio as lexicographers in Latin, Craston, Constantine, and the great Stephanus in Greek. Comenius, in his *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, attempted to impart a knowledge

of words through descriptions of things, and the result was a great phrase-book, no new creation of modern times, it would seem. It would be easy to prepare a long catalogue of Greek and Latin grammars, from the time when the young Schwartzerd, instead of being Latinized, according to scholastic usage, was Hellenized into Melancthon, in token of his singular love for the Greek, to our own day, when Sophocles, the modern grammarian, teaches the language of Sophocles, the ancient tragedian.

It would not be so easy to trace the changes and improvements, the increasing degree of knowledge and the progress of a true method. It would seem that the earlier students of the classics must have devoted themselves to their chosen pursuits with all the zest which novelty imparts, for with very imperfect tools they made great proficiency. The mass of our classical students do themselves great injustice, by stopping a little short of that amount of attainment which would make their store of learning really available, and a source of gratification. They are *almost* good Latin and Greek scholars, but the *almost* is only a weariness whilst the *altogether* would be a delight. It is to be feared that the multitude of us would make but little progress in good learning, should we be suddenly thrown back upon the old tools, grammars unreformed by the Jesuits, those famous teachers, dictionaries requiring to be amended at every step. For something like a thousand years, a kind of encyclopædia, by Martianus Capella, was the main resource in the schools for teaching the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, the three and four sciences that constituted the course of instruction in the Middle Ages. If we ever fall into the fancy that mediæval life was superior to ours, we must try to imagine our children following these sciences in the old way. The *trivium* consisted of grammar, logic, and rhetoric; the *quadrivium*, of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The treatises upon arithmetic were mainly occupied, not with the various combinations of numbers, and their employment for practical purposes, but with their mystical properties and virtues. A vast deal of time was spent in copying manuals, and writing was a privilege to be purchased from the ecclesiastics, whose schools were the only dependence, until

at length the magistrates of the various free cities established more popular institutions. In our times the restraints upon the communication of knowledge have to a great extent ceased, and only the want of ability stands in the way of the student. If progress in the culture of the mind were exactly in proportion to the increase of educational facilities, our rate of advance would be very rapid. But experience shows, we think, that the mind must to a great extent take its own time, and that all the improved tools in the world are inadequate to construct a "royal road" to learning.

We cannot linger any longer to look back into the past, for we are not attempting a history of school literature, and, in our desire to show to the book-makers of our day that other men have labored, and that they have entered into their labors, we have perhaps wandered a little from the direct path to our purpose. We hope to succeed in setting down some of the qualities of School and College Text-Books, and to illustrate our remarks by reference to such specimens as are at hand and in use among us. We shall be employed not so much upon minute details as upon large principles and prominent features. A tolerable idea of what a manual for young learners should be, would remove the occasions for much labor which is now not very profitably applied.

What is a good school-book? — of what material ought it to be composed, into what form should it be cast, how much or how little should it contain, in what respects should it differ from other books, what may it fairly attempt, and when is it to be regarded as successful? — these and the like are our questions. What is a good school-book? If we may trust the testimony of many prefaces to our school manuals, tolerable specimens of this class of literature have been very rare until a very recent date; the date, indeed, of one or another of these prefaces. We find that our new books are very often written to meet some terrible exigency, and to comply with some very imperative demand, — the world has been waiting hitherto, or at the best advancing very slowly; now we may hope to go forward with a greatly accelerated pace. But, seriously, what is a good school-book? There are some things which are good in any book, and which should distinguish in an eminent degree the work

for the young learner. Truth, clearness, and fitness are three grand requisites in all literature. The facts must be facts, the principles must be sound, the arguments must be correctly drawn out, the words must be so chosen and the sentences so constructed and arranged as easily to suggest the meaning; and the book must not only be good in itself, but good for the specific purpose which it aims to serve. Now, if these demands are always reasonable, they may be enforced without any qualification upon the maker of school-books. The adult mind will make the best of indifferent materials and instruments, and pick the few grains of wheat out of the bushels of chaff, but it is not fair to dishearten a mere learner by inaccuracies and obscurities and matters beyond his reach. The rocks and sands which a man may be willing to toil over are not suited for the experiments of the child who is trying to walk. Learners are in no condition to correct errors or otherwise remedy defects in their books, and we cannot always depend upon the aid of a teacher. First impressions are proverbially strong, and we cannot afford to have them erroneous, — to have the first thought always a blunder. There are young eyes that will penetrate the thickest fogs, but we must not count upon so much penetration; books should be constructed for average capacities. A very intelligent learner will glean a great deal from a confused treatise, and master lessons that are far beyond the years of youth; but we must not ask the mass of students to make their own school-books, — we shall be fortunate if they will make themselves familiar with the best. Perhaps the greatest errors are committed in the matter of adaptation; indeed, we have sometimes thought that the least skill has been expended in directions where it would have been most certainly rewarded.

We shall be aided in our attempt to answer our question by drawing at least one line, beyond which the Text-Book for the school and even for the college should never pass, — a line which should separate every work that is to be put into the hands of school-boys, or collegiate undergraduates, from the thorough, exhaustive, and abstruse treatises which may be addressed by a master to his peers. The master is supposed to know a vast deal, the beginner little or nothing. And it is utterly

disheartening to be obliged to go over ground which is entirely covered by a cloud, where there is no way open or to be opened even for the persevering, — where we can take no single step without a guide. It is important to make large demands upon the faculties of the learner, but there must be some hope of a happy issue, some prospect of a tangible result, and every step must not be a stride. One of the most serious obstacles in the way of the maker of Text-Books is the temptation to cover too much ground, to aim at a completeness of statement and detail, and a scientific precision, which the young mind cannot compass or appreciate. Philosophy is good in its place, and so are learned discussions; and it may even be necessary sometimes to split hairs; but we should look for nothing of the sort in Text-Books. These should contain rather results, not results exclusively, and without any reasons or reasoning, but results mainly, substantial, leading facts, which the pupil may store in his memory, and have ever after at his command. Nothing can be more absurd than many of the attempts at philosophizing which disfigure many modern school-books. The author begins with the assertion that you must always give reasons to children for what you affirm or require, and then proceeds to lead them at once into deep water, from which they cannot be rescued unless they lay hold upon the guide, reason or no reason. But, in fact, reasons are not always to be given to children, and for three very good reasons; because there are not always reasons to be given, and because, if there were, the child could not always appreciate or feel any interest in them, and because this continual reasoning with the young mind is fatal to its trustfulness and nourishes a dangerous conceit. You must stop somewhere in this attempt to give reasons. A familiarity with processes, the correctness and value of which will in the sequel be approved, is perhaps the first grand desideratum.

Having thus rejected learned and scholastic treatises from the department of literature under discussion, we may divide books for learners into three great classes, viz. Primary Books or Primers, School Text-Books, and College Text-Books. Each one of these classes will have its own standard, and make upon the writer its own peculiar demand, and claim a special decision upon

its merits or defects. A few words, then, must be said, first, of primers.

By Primers or First Books we do not mean books in which the elements of science are explained to adults, but those small, unpretending manuals which are designed to introduce little children to the various branches of learning, often half picture and half study books, almost as welcome in the nursery as requisite in the school-room, books by means of which a gradual transition may be made from the sports of infancy to the studies of childhood. Such books must of course be exceedingly simple; indeed, they can be prepared in their perfection only by masters of style, — men gifted to express their thoughts with a beautiful plainness, and, where the subject will admit, with the aid of various illustrations. Some of the standard English toy-books have been traced, we believe, to the best writers in our literature, who labored in this humble way anonymously, lest their dignity should be compromised. It is a pity that the same cannot be said of School Primers. To a certain extent, little books of this kind are necessary, were it only because the hands of the young child are small, and can hardly hold and manage a larger book. Elementary matter might, indeed, be included within the few first chapters of a larger manual; but we fear that, by the time the first chapters had been thoroughly mastered, the whole book would have become seriously dilapidated. In very youthful students an astonishing amount of effort is expended through the fingers, and the purses of parents have been sadly depleted by the entire disuse of horn-books in our day. Some favor, then, we are inclined to show to the little books. The child may fairly crave, in his way, a certain completeness of view. In his childish manner he wishes to take in the whole subject at a glance, to learn a little about it as a whole, so that he may start with a proper adjustment of the parts each to the other. By indulging this humor attention is engaged and secured, appetite is quickened, courage is established, and the young learner is led to look forward with satisfaction to the supplementary work which is to resolve his swiftly rising questions, and cover the magnificent distances between his landmarks. Yet whilst, for the reasons which have been given, we would be lenient towards the primers,

we should be inclined to make them more truly picture-books than they now are, and appoint them to be read rather than studied. Perhaps we should be more willing to see them in schools, if they were more skilfully constructed; but they too often supply only a miserably digested smattering, the merest shreds and tatters of knowledge, which find in the child's mind no points of attachment; partly because they are above, and partly because they are beneath, his intelligence. It is very questionable, for example, whether there is any advantage in the use of the various preparatory geographies, good or bad, — whether the young learner would not be much better employed in committing to memory some simple poems, or in reading some pleasant narrative, than in attempting to gather up a few meagre details about the earth's surface. A better way, perhaps, to teach children geography would be to keep a large outline spherical map constantly suspended before their eyes, and to talk to them from it familiarly, from time to time, always making these simple lectures matters of subsequent examinations. One excellent result from this course would be to place a vivid picture of the world, with the relations of its principal parts distinctly marked upon it, in the image chamber of the learner's mind for ever. Under the guidance of a competent teacher a child might soon learn, in this way, a vast deal about the world we live in. Meanwhile, the geographical primers might be made picture-books even more truly than they are now, and be given to the learner during the leisure moments of school-time; or they might be read as toy-books at home. We know of two works of this description which with very slight changes might be made into famous picture-books; indeed, they are already received into the nursery with acclamation, and secure for Mitchell and Smith places by the side of Mother Goose and Grandfather Easy.

There must of course be a primer of some kind for the child who is learning to read, and it does not matter much whether it is illustrated or not. Pictures without any words are the best food for the mind during the earliest years of intelligence, and there is no occasion for impatience though the acquisition of reading should be deferred much beyond the usual time. Many children "learn their letters" half a dozen times before they begin

to learn to read, and are no more advanced at the age of seven or eight than they would have been if they had known nothing about their letters until a year or two before. The pictures in the readers are of little use except to pass away the time between recitations. The phonetic primers, we observe, discard them, as if reading were made so easy by their system as to render all such helps superfluous. First-readers of three kinds are used in our schools, viz. old-fashioned primers, beginning with the alphabet and passing to simple words; primers that introduce the learner at once to words; and phonetic primers. In the majority of our schools, we believe, though not in the best of them, the scholars are still taught the alphabet first, and afterwards learn to combine letters into words, — into *words*, not into meaningless syllables, according to a method now, we trust, becoming obsolete. The pupil will not learn to read so rapidly in this way as by means of the processes which are peculiar to the second and third classes of books just named. The names of the letters, as any one will understand upon a moment's reflection, are not the sounds that make up the word. *Em a e n* is not *man;* and it is much easier for the child to learn the sound which *man* represents, than to learn, first, the names of the three letters *m*, *a*, *n*, and then to associate these three names with the sound *man*. Strange as it may seem to some who are familiar only with the old method, it is very easy and very common for scholars to learn their letters after they have learned to read. The vocabulary of a child's book is so small, that the mastery of a very few words is sufficient to insure tolerable reading. But the time spent under the old system was not all lost. If we ever fancy that the fathers were wholly in the wrong, we shall be sure to find that we have done them injustice. Under the old method, the scholar is occupied a long time in learning to read, but all the while he is learning to spell, associating the names of letters with the sounds of words; and one is often surprised to find how thoroughly this work is accomplished at a very early age. Still, it seems decidedly better to teach reading first and spelling afterwards. The phonetic primer is not yet much known, either to pupils or teachers. Indeed, our instructors have been too slow in this matter

to "prove all things." Whatever may be the final decision upon "phonetics," it is very certain that no teacher can dispense with the excellent suggestions which it supplies. Pupils trained under this system are taught the elementary sounds of the language and the characters by which they are denoted, and as there is a character for every sound, words are spelled precisely as they are pronounced, and the process of learning to read in the phonetic alphabet is of course essentially facilitated. Disinterested persons, who have made the experiment, assure us that the child is easily transferred from phonetic books to those in common use, and that the time consumed in mastering the art according to both methods is less than is commonly demanded for the usual process. Moreover, when sounds are the first things attended to, a distinctness and accuracy of enunciation are secured, and every one knows that without these there can be no good reading. If we were engaged in teaching, we should certainly make a trial of this method upon a portion of our pupils, and we are persuaded that indirectly it will be of great service. But we are bound to add, that, as we look at a phonetic page, we have no faith whatever that the letters are those which our children, or our children's children, are, to any great extent, destined to learn. You may give a written language to a nation of savages; that is, you may express the words which they use by any convenient signs; but you cannot by any direct action, more or less sudden, change the characters in which a civilized people have been accustomed, not only to write, but to print, their speech and their unspoken thoughts. The past is too strong that any thing so revolutionary should happen. Languages, like governments, *grow;* they are not made outright, or altered, by vote of the legislature. Changes in their structure, in their characters, and in the method of grouping these characters, must come about gradually, imperceptibly, one can hardly tell how. The new phonetic signs are, indeed, only modifications of our present alphabet; but the differences are so numerous and decided, that the characters cannot be readily adopted; there are few eyes, to say the least, that could bear the shock.

A First Book of history can hardly be used by very young children with any advantage. The Parley Books

are better than any thing which is known to us of this description, but they are hardly primers, and cannot be profitably studied by children under eight or nine years of age. The combination of geography with history in these books is one of their most agreeable features. The maps which form a part of each work are always at hand, and whilst the positions of important towns and the boundaries of states are readily studied and fastened in the memory, the accompanying history at once supplies a reason for noting facts which otherwise might seem worthless. We have before us a revised edition of the "History and Geography of the Western Hemisphere," which, we perceive, is styled by eminence the "First Book," and which certainly is very attractive, both in matter and in form. If not put into the hands of the child too soon, it must prove very serviceable, and it is objectionable only in not supplying any comprehensive view of history. This can be obtained only from three books together. After all, such general lessons in history as a child is capable of receiving can best be conveyed through oral instruction. Would that we could find teachers capable of imparting it! But we must not complain. There is a story told of an English soldier, who, when reprimanded for some of the vices of the camp, replied, that all the virtues of the Decalogue could not fairly be expected for a shilling a day. And we must not be very exacting in our demands upon those who receive but three or four dollars a week for as hard work as any that is done under the sun. In Grammar there can be no primer. The study is not suited to early childhood. In Arithmetic we see no occasion for any thing more elementary than Colburn's First Lessons, a perfect jewel of a book, which, if faithfully studied, would go far to transform many a blundering, dreamy child into an accurate and prompt arithmetician. It positively compels attention. Spelling-books, we suppose, there must be, because there always have been. But why would not the reader answer this purpose? It seems to be a more natural and life-like process to learn the spelling of words as they present themselves in a paragraph, than to take them as they are arranged mechanically and grimly in bristling columns. Besides, if the reader is used as a speller, the child

acquires the habit of noticing the spelling of words as he reads, whether in school or at home, and this is, after all, the way in which he is to learn to spell. If we write *abominable* and *abomination* correctly, it is not because we once painfully studied the column in which they are contained, and have remembered them ever since, but because we have always seen them printed in only one way. Indeed, in the school where we were trained, spelling-books were unknown, and readers were used in their stead. We must add, that the scholars were accustomed, as early as possible, to spell in writing,—a very valuable exercise; for multitudes who very well know how words should be spelt are exceedingly careless in setting them down upon paper. The child, as soon as he is old enough to attend school, should have his slate and pencil, and at times when he would otherwise be sitting idle or creating a disturbance, he should be encouraged to imitate the words in his reader.

We pass now to the second and more advanced class of books. And we are in hazard of losing ourselves in a wilderness of compends of every degree of excellence or of pretension. We are amongst the Geographies, Grammars, Arithmetics, Natural Philosophies, Physiologies, Latin and Greek Elementary Books, and the name of each class is Legion. Fortunately or unfortunately, they are very much alike, and the essential feature in each new book, the feature that won the writer's heart and enlisted his undivided energy through hundreds of long pages, proves to be exceedingly diminutive, and is by no means so unlike the same feature in some other kindred production. If those who have authority in these matters decide never to change school-books except for some very well marked and clearly discernible advantage of the new over the old, they will not give parents any serious cause of complaint. In books of this second class we want a generous supply of good, solid materials, with an abundance of illustrations, but nothing over nice, refined, or minute, — good, usable lessons with very few curious speculations. You may collect into a single work almost any amount of facts and principles, but there is a limit to the capacity of the mind, if not for acquiring, at least for retaining them, and the school-boy should have manuals that aim to present the grand *landmarks* of the

various subjects which are treated in them, and are not encumbered with details. These should be reserved either for the College Text-Book or for future reading. We must enter a little into particulars.

What shall the Reading-Book be? Let no one suppose that we intend to name some particular series of readers with special commendation. Ours is not such a measure of hardihood. We only wish to urge that the book ought to be a *reader;* not a history, not a book of science, but a book prepared expressly for the purpose of making good readers, and containing accordingly suitable selections and plain rules. Reading is too often treated as a matter of secondary importance, and is taken up only at odd moments. Just as it is a prevailing impression that any one can manage a farm or a fortune, so it seems to be a common opinion that any body who can call words readily can read. But how few persons are able to read elegantly, or even tolerably, — how few even of our public readers! How few of our school-boys and school-girls ever have their attention called to the pronunciation of our language! And yet good reading is a luxury that every one can appreciate, and a very serviceable gift too. In the great majority of cases, time, effort, and suitable instruments will make good readers, just as the same means will insure good arithmeticians or grammarians. There are books in use which are admirably suited to aid the scholar in this matter, but they must be studied by the teacher and taught like any other books.

What shall the Geography be? Not a "big book," we say, most decidedly. What we most want is to hang up pictures of different portions of the world in the child's mind for ever, and to effect this we must accustom him to the outline maps, and must insist upon a constant practice in drawing maps. A large part of the descriptive matter which encumbers most geographies cannot be retained by common memories, and the condition of the world is changing so rapidly that it would be of no use if it could be retained. A vast deal of time is expended, with much effort of the memory, in mastering page after page of facts, that only protract the agony of the child and weary the patience of the committee on examination days. With these views, we have been glad

to notice that Mitchell has at last taken pity upon school-children, and has issued an "Intermediate Geography," a work which contains much less than his "Common School Geography," and for this reason is greatly to be preferred before it. It is sufficient for every school purpose, and ought to supplant the larger book. It may be said, indeed, that the teacher can select from a large amount of matter the more important items; but why swell the book with the less important, when they can so easily be gathered up in subsequent reading? It disheartens the scholar to see so much, and unless the instructor is very careful to draw a sharp line between the portions to be studied and the portions to be omitted, the whole will come to occupy a kind of middle ground where nothing is certainly known. After all, the study of the maps is the great thing; all the rest can be gathered up from books of travel, or a Commercial Dictionary, or even from one of our great journals.

What shall the Grammar be? Not which one of the three hundred, but what sort of Grammar? — and for the Common School? We answer, as short as possible, as simple as possible, as free from crotchets as possible, — some three or four dozen of duodecimo pages, without any special regard to *analysis* or *synthesis*, or any special effort to be critical. Even with a plain book, the study of grammar ought to be among the last studies. There can be, as we have said, no primary grammar. Such a book would be a manifest absurdity. And even for pupils who are somewhat advanced, the teacher will have done the most and the best, if he has trained them to use correctly the English which necessarily falls from their lips, a work, we are sorry to add, too often neglected. Nothing can be more unwise than to puzzle the youthful learner with subject and predicate. We cannot allow that, "when a child begins to read sentences, he should begin to learn how these sentences are formed, and for what purpose each word is used," or that "he should know the *subject* and *predicate* of each sentence, the several modifying and limiting words, and in what respect they affect the meaning." The grammars that are likely to fall into the hands of children are for the most part disheartening enough to the more advanced, and we would not anticipate the day for grappling with

their difficulties and threading their labyrinths. Childhood is, indeed, the season for learning language, but not the season for learning the grammar of language, and the school-boy or school-girl can hardly master any thing more than a few simple lessons, which should be partly analytical and partly synthetical, as the exigencies of the case may direct. The structure of language can hardly be discussed to any extent, in simple words and sentences. It is intrinsically a difficult subject, and any one who will look into the grammars may see that it has been completely bewitched. We have been greatly amused sometimes, in attending examinations of teachers, by the magical effect which the questions in grammar were sure to have upon their powers of criticism. A word was given out to "parse," and each one had a peculiar doctrine about it, stated most probably in a jargon that would have done honor to mediæval scholastics. We have been compelled, in self-defence, to acquaint ourselves with a portion of the new grammatical nomenclature; but as we never allow ourselves to recall it except at times of examination, lest our poor brain should be hopelessly bewildered, we cannot transfer any of it to these pages. We repeat, that any grammar, however excellent, if it goes beyond the simplest explanations, is out of season at any period earlier than the last year of High-School instruction, or the collegiate course. The great points to be arrived at are, to familiarize the learner with the language in the concrete, as it is found in good writings, to exercise him empirically in frequent compositions, to direct his attention to false syntax; we may leave explanations and theories to a later day. For these reasons we have felt that the "Analysis" of Samuel S. Greene, whilst it contains a vast deal of excellent matter, and would be of service to teachers and mature pupils, can hardly be generally valuable as a *school* book. It is too difficult. It gives one the headache. It lays a heavy tax upon the mere intellect, at an age when only imagination and memory are strong and active. We have found it very dry and rather hard reading, and we think that such must be the case with children to a much greater extent. Nevertheless, if any are able to receive it, let them receive it; we can only state our own impressions. We have made special reference to this book, not

because it is in itself inferior to the two hundred and ninety-nine, its fellows, but to call attention to the very significant fact, that an author who made it his distinctive aim to write an interesting and intelligible grammar has produced a work, which, (as it seems to us,) beyond all other treatises upon the subject, must exhaust the capacity of a young scholar.

Arithmetic should be a very interesting subject in this commercial age, though, after all, practical skill is more in request than critical discernment or theoretic precision. We have already anticipated a little by our reference to Colburn's First Lessons, a book which belongs to the most advanced class of the Primary School and to the lowest department of the High School, and which will always be found an admirable introduction to the study of arithmetic. In this department there is no lack of excellent treatises, whether for beginners or for the more advanced; and we must add, in this connection, that it is very desirable to observe the law of gradation in the use of arithmetics, and, after a simpler work has been thoroughly mastered, to review the whole subject with the aid of a book of a higher character, which should contain an entirely new series of examples. Such a higher arithmetic may be profitably studied during the last year at the High School, and after some attention has been given to algebra. We must add a word about the importance of abundant practice in arithmetical exercises. Only by means of this can the scholar be made entirely and lastingly familiar with the various combinations and processes of the art of numbers. The arithmetics should teem with examples. These are more needed during the first years than labored explanations, and every leisure moment of school time should be given to ciphering.

And now comes the inquiry, Out of what books shall the scholar learn History? Shall he commit to memory a very brief compend? Shall he be required to give only the substance of a larger work? Shall any effort be made to establish in the mind a table of chronology? It is a subject which has proved very perplexing to teachers; and recourse has generally been had, we believe, to memorizing a compend, a very unsatisfactory method, as all will admit. Various attempts have been made to

meet the difficulties connected with this matter by historical charts, which, it has been thought, should fill a place in the study of history similar to that which is occupied in geography by the school atlas. The position of the fact in time should be represented to the eye, it has been urged, like the position of the state or city in space. Most of our readers are familiar, we presume, with Worcester's Historical Atlas, and perhaps with one or another "Stream of Time." But many of them propably are not familiar with a method of teaching history of very recent invention, which offers to the pupil far more available charts than those which have been in use heretofore. We refer to the "Polish-American System of Chronology, reproduced with some Modifications from General Bem's Franco-Polish Method, by Elizabeth P. Peabody." When a pupil is receiving a lesson, according to this method, his attention is constantly directed to one or the other of two large charts, constructed upon the same principles, and devoted the one to ancient and the other to modern history. In the chart of ancient history, twenty-five centuries before Christ are represented, and it is in the manner of representation that the novelty of the plan chiefly consists. The centuries are exhibited in twenty-five squares, arranged in five tiers of five squares each. The square in the lower right-hand corner of the chart is assigned to the first century; the second, third, fourth, and fifth centuries are found as we pass from right to left through the first tier; the place of the sixth is just above that of the first, the place of the seventh just above that of the second, and so on until we come to the twenty-fifth and last, in the upper left-hand corner. Then each square for a century is subdivided into one hundred spaces for the hundred years, and each space for a year is again subdivided into nine spaces, each one of which is appropriated to a particular class of events; the seventh, for example, to births. The squares for the centuries are each subdivided also into quarters, to aid the eye in determining the year which any hundredth part represents. The child is first exercised in reading the chart, and the method of division is so admirably adapted to aid the eye, that a little practice soon makes it very easy to assign its year to any space. Then the learner is instructed to connect twenty-four different shades of color with as many dif-

ferent nations, whose more or less blended fortunes are to be traced. The chart before the scholar is already colored with the appropriate shades in the appropriate places. The legislation of Solon at Athens, for example, B. C. 593, is indicated by bright blue in the fifth subdivision of the space for the year ninety-three, in the square for the sixth century; bright blue being the Athenian shade, and the fifth subdivision being devoted to the foundation of a government. Moreover, each pupil is provided with a Chronological Table, a brief compend of history containing references which will enable him to clothe his skeleton with flesh and blood, and blanks out of which charts must be made, the attention required for painting these serving to fasten the facts denoted firmly in the memory through the aid of the eye. This system has already been introduced into some of our best schools, and, so far as we have been able to judge from a cursory examination, promises much relief where hitherto great difficulties have been encountered. In 1844 it was introduced by law into all the public schools and royal colleges of France. We have aided in introducing the system into a school over which we have some supervision, and shall watch the progress of the experiment with much interest.

Of Philosophies, Physiologies, Botanies, Astronomies, and the like, we can only say, "*Ne quid nimis.*" Let them be simple and brief. Professor Mitchell, of the Cincinnati Observatory, owes his success as a popular lecturer upon astronomy largely to his wonderful skill in selecting and presenting to his audiences only so much as they can easily grasp and carry away. In matters of science this is very little. Many children know nothing about natural philosophy, etc., because their books attempt to teach them so much, often to the neglect of the indispensable elements of all learning. A fond yet rather mortified parent said to us once, in his attempt to explain away some shocking bad spelling of which his daughter, a candidate for a situation as teacher, had been convicted, "These academies *spile* them for spelling." The good man was more than half right.

But the school-boy is to be fitted for college, and the school-girl must study a little Latin, if only as a preparation for French, Italian, etc. Are there any suggestions

which should be made concerning the means and appliances for securing these objects? The theme is an inviting one, but our limits enforce brevity, and fortunately the helps to a beginner in the classics are so abundant in our day, that one can hardly fail to find much that is serviceable. The only point to which we would direct attention, in a very few words, relates to a distinction that should be made between pupils who are intended for a thorough classical training, and those who are employed upon one or more of the ancient languages only for the sake of the mental discipline and the help which is afforded by the old words towards the better understanding and use of our own tongue. Pupils whose education is to be finished in the High School or Academy, provided they can only remain long enough, will find a great advantage in devoting a year to Latin and Greek, and such scholars should study by themselves, and not with those who are destined for the University. Beginning when their minds are somewhat mature, and when they will desire and be able to make rapid progress, with the aid of a "First Lessons" and a good "Reader" they may acquire considerable knowledge of the structure of these two languages, and be in a far better condition to employ their own with skill and effect. They will need neither lexicon nor grammar, and a vast deal which they may wish to know should be communicated directly by the teacher, special pains being taken all the while to point out the connections between the ancient languages and the mother tongue of the scholars. By pursuing this course the instructor would disabuse the pupil of the common idea, that long years and an expensive apparatus of books are requisite to make the study of the ancient languages of any account. An energetic young person can learn as much Latin and Greek in two years, other studies not being neglected the while, as the majority of youths acquire by droning along from the age of six to that of eighteen, at the rate of a page or two a day, — a rate which would be excusable if they aimed at being critical, — a species of Quixotism that can be charged upon very few. The students, on the other hand, who are designed for college, whilst they may profitably begin at a very early age, and with the "First Lessons" rather than the gram-

mar, the *concrete* being always preferred, should, as soon as these and the "Reader" are mastered, be committed and commended to grammar and lexicon, and taught not to rely too much upon glossaries and notes. The small dictionaries that are appended to so many editions of the classics seem to us unnecessary, and even harmful, and cannot be defended on the score of economy, when it is the intention of the scholar to pursue the study of the languages to any considerable extent. Even one who desires to read only as much Greek as is contained in the Reader of Felton, Jacobs, or Colton, should have a large lexicon, and should use it in preference to the mere glossary; and, when a remark to be found in the grammar is in point, a reference to the section, &c. is sufficient. It is poor economy for the scholar to purchase a number of partial lexicons, when, after all, he must provide himself with a dictionary of the whole language; and every pupil who has faithfully studied a book of "First Lessons" should be able to consult a complete lexicon with sufficient ease and with profit.

But we must hasten to the few suggestions which our space will allow us to present with reference to the third class of Text-Books, those intended for the student at college. And here brevity, which is never a very heinous fault, will be all the more excusable, because the general remarks which have already been offered are largely applicable to this special division of our subject, and because the great ability and experience of many who have furnished, and are yet to furnish, books for our colleges, render any words from us almost nugatory. In the great departments of Natural and Moral Philosophy, History, Rhetoric, and Political Economy, we must of course depend mainly upon English and European scholars for Text-Books; and the skill of the American editor will be displayed chiefly in adapting productions wholly or in part foreign to the special wants of our students. Sometimes nothing of this sort is necessary; and a work which is good for any body is good for us. Often, however, contractions and annotations will be called for, as in the excellent edition of Reid's Mental Philosophy by Professor Walker of Harvard College. Hallam, Herschel, Whewell, Paley, Whately, Campbell, occur to us at once as unmodified in any way. It is right that we

should depend to a large extent for the means of training our young men upon the mature wisdom and ripe scholarship of the Old World. This dependence, if less obvious in the department of the ancient classics, is quite as great. A large proportion of our Greek and Latin Text-Books are translated compilations from German works, and when fairly executed and acknowledged for what they really are, they are none the less valuable for this reason. The want of originality can be no objection. Of course we have amongst us men whom Providence has endowed with a singular aptitude for classical labors, and such will make truly individual contributions to our catalogue of Text-Books. But others, whose gifts fit them rather for acquisition and appropriation than for invention, may be and are of eminent service as compilers and translators; only let them not be ashamed of an honest calling, or lay claim to an originality which is not theirs. The means of classical culture that are enjoyed by our students are very slender in comparison with those that are within the reach of many European scholars, and we cannot do better than avail ourselves to the utmost extent of their labors. The flood of classical handbooks and Text-Books of every name is evidence that the mine of German and other lore is well worked.

An examination of a considerable number of our College Text-Books has satisfied us that many of them afford quite too much help to the scholar, whilst, on the other hand, some, a less number, leave too many difficulties unsolved. We can only account for the very abundant aid which is furnished in the larger portion of the editions of the classics in use amongst us, by supposing that the editors of these works are exceedingly kind-hearted men, and retain a very vivid remembrance of their early struggles in philology at a time when it was almost impossible to obtain even a serviceable school grammar or dictionary. Within a very few years far too little help was afforded in the books to the classical student. We have an uncomfortable remembrance still of our own unsatisfactory labors upon the tragedies of Sophocles, labors entirely unaided so far as our edition of the author was concerned. We had — *had*, for the book was sold at the very earliest opportunity — a little square brown paper affair with *Tauchnitii* on the back, and at the end some

scraps of Latin, concerning which whether they were notes or somewhat else we are unable to testify, and can only say that they looked more difficult even than the text. It was hard to grapple with this ***multum in parvo***, unaided as we were either by the modern Sophocles or by "Liddell and Scott." Weary and dreary work enough it was for an inexperienced Sophomore to combine the little bits of Greek words that seemed to have been thrown together at all adventure into the kaleidoscope of the Chorus. We shall never forget an indefatigable but not very Philhellenic or linguistic classmate, who faithfully did into English (for the most part, we are sorry to say, unintelligible), word after word, the mystic expressions, pausing now and then at some fragment of a pronoun, or some transformed particle, which completely baffled him, and yielded not so much as a plausible conjecture as to what might have been the intention of the poet. Indeed, the few who took no pleasure in the swiftness of the horse, and were not accustomed to ride into the author's significance upon the smaller specimens of that animal (known in *ling. colleg.* as *ponies*), could attain to no appreciation of the poet's beautiful or sublime meaning, until the professor gathered up the fragments, by what seemed an almost magic process, into clear and beautiful English. The young men who complain, if there is such ingratitude within the walls of college, over the fair pages and copious notes of Felton and Woolsey, do not know, and never can know, from how many acres of *digging* they have been saved. Now this was an extreme condition. We run into its opposite when we supply in the notes what is already furnished by the dictionaries; when we translate long passages that present no difficulties whatever; when we append to our classics manuals of antiquities, etc.; when we suppose the scholar to be utterly unacquainted with his grammar. We know of more than one edition of an ancient author from which an indolent pupil might easily recite his lesson without having devoted to it a single moment of preparation. Clearly, such books ought not to be put into the hands of learners until the notes are reduced by at least three quarters. They are simply temptations to laziness, and shallowness, and contentment with third-hand scholarship.

And as we find many books too easy, so there are a few which are too difficult, for students of the average capacity at least. We have here especially in mind some of the manuals that treat of mathematics and natural science. In these departments most minds require much patient elucidation, amounting often to diffuseness, and many persons, provided they can have this, will be interested in studies that otherwise would weary and disgust them. Many persons can be taught, and will rejoice to learn what they never could have found out for themselves; and if it is worth while for young students to give any attention at all to pure and mixed mathematics, they should be presented in such quantities and with such explanations as will reward effort. It may be our own dulness, but we must nevertheless allow, that, in attempting to use the Algebra and the Trigonometry of Peirce's Course of Mathematics, we have wished for a fuller exhibition of the steps of many of the processes. As mathematical treatises and works of genius they are entirely above our poor criticism, but we are sure that some additional pages would be a perfect God-send to more than one humble student who would be glad to learn and understand his lesson if he only could. Of the astronomical treatise that was used at Harvard some fifteen years ago, scarcely twenty consecutive pages were sufficiently clear, and for most students even Herschel should be expanded and diluted. But it may be asked, If a young man has no brain for mathematics, why attempt to teach them to him? It is a question for those to answer who do make this attempt; we only say, that, if it is done, it should be done to some purpose, and it can be done to some purpose if we will be content with slow progress and moderate results.

But we have done, having exhausted, not our subject, but our limits. If any one is disposed to think that we have been agitating a trifling matter, we need only remind him that hundreds of our readers are continually obliged to pronounce judgment upon one or another Text-Book, which has applied for admission into the Common Schools under their control. The newspaper that lies before us as we write, announces, for example, that Bullion's Grammar has just been selected for all the Public Schools of Boston. Now within a few years

this very same grammar has been supplanted by another work upon the subject in the schools of the town where we are writing; and we have not written entirely to no purpose if we have impressed any with the conviction that these changes should be made with the utmost caution. We shall be thankful if we have strengthened any one who is disposed with us to be obstinately conservative in these matters, and yet might be overborne by a strong outward pressure. We shall be still more thankful, if our poor suggestions shall stir any to a more thorough study of a very important subject.

R. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Position and Mission of the Congregational Church. A Sermon, delivered before the Pastoral Association of Massachusetts, in Central Church, Boston, May 25, 1852. By WILLIAM A. STEARNS. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1852. 8vo. pp. 39.

THE text of this sermon is Exodus xiv. 15, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward." The Association before which it was delivered unites most of the Calvinistic pastors of Congregational churches in this State. The preacher has a wide and a well-deserved reputation for the gifts and graces which most eminently become his calling. For all the qualities of uprightness, fidelity, devotion, and courtesy, and for so much of Christian liberality as is consistent with his sincere doctrinal convictions, he may claim the respect and confidence of all, as he has our own most cordially extended to him. Mr. Stearns's theme in this discourse is "the Position and Mission of the Orthodox Congregational Church." The preacher defines the *position* of that communion, by brief reference to its history, its doctrines, and its institutions. Under this head of his discourse Mr. Stearns yields to a warm and enthusiastic pride of ancestral renown, which needs no apology or pardon in any descendant of the Puritans. What ecclesiastical fellowship can show a purer or a more honorable history?

The preacher maintains that the distinctive doctrines of Ortho-

dox Congregationalism "are of singular power." This is a frequent boast of those who hold the doctrines, but we must respectfully, though firmly, withhold our assent to it. We think these doctrines have failed far more frequently than they have succeeded in accomplishing a Christian work in those to whom they have been addressed. Certain adventitious circumstances have largely favored their best influence where that has been most effective, but multitudes of devout and earnest Christians have repudiated them, while they have been wholly inoperative over masses of persons not steeled against the truth, who have neither been terrified at the awful threatenings of Calvinism, nor been won by its "power."

The preacher argues that the "mission" of his brotherhood is not *reformatory*, but *progressive*, finding its watch-cry in the last clause of his text.

Under the head of "Things needed for Success," he mentions first "Union among ourselves." This suggestion leads him to a brief description of the differences existing in the body in reference to the doctrine of the Freedom of the Will, a dark problem which the preacher does not succeed in lighting. By his own statement, however, there is some real discord among the brethren on that point, though he insists that it ought not to prevent a perfect union and harmony. Why true liberality and brotherly confidence should be strained to just that limit which allows one speculative difference, and should stop there, the preacher does not explain.

A part of what is said in this discourse, as defining a second condition for success, we extract, as follows: —

"It may be well for us to take more of an attractive and less of a repellent attitude towards theological oppositionists, especially towards that part of the old Congregational connection which has been now, for many years, substantially separated from us. How religious sentiment came to deteriorate on the soil of the Pilgrims, and how the elements of separation were introduced among us, I have no time to narrate. The history of this controversy involves causes which lie far back in the history of the country: among them are the half-way covenant, the Revolutionary war, and the prevalence of sensational philosophy.

"But passing over the origin of the conflict, the fierce strife itself has not died out of memory. The recklessness with which old opinions were assailed; the exile of churches from their Sabbath homes; communion furniture passing, under the forms of law, into the hands of those who had all along stood out of the pale of the covenant; pastors gathering their broken and disheartened flocks into school-houses, into private dwellings, or under the shades of a tree; aged ministers standing on the steps of their church doors, bolted out by some to whom they had preached for almost half a century; — these things survive in the recollections of many a wounded spirit, and it may be they have produced an aversion, a hardness of manner, a repellence, on our part, unfavorable to conviction.

"But we must remember, not only the spirit of forgiveness which was inculcated from the cross, but that years have already produced a change. A natural but powerful reaction has commenced. A new generation are coming upon the stage. The Unitarian mind is also better understood; its real difficulties are more fully appreciated; and new modes of defending old truths modes better adapted to the exigencies of the times, have been discovered and applied. A revival of evangelical sentiment and feeling has taken place. The theology of Boston, and the whole eastern part of the Commonwealth, has undergone a revolution. At no time, since the sixteenth century, have the doctrines of grace put themselves forth with more vigor, either upon the educated or the common mind, in any space of equal limits, than in our immediate region within the last twenty or thirty years. The wrongs we suffered were a benefit to us. Before 1837, there had sprung into new existence, or after exile, into revived vitality, nearly a hundred Orthodox churches, in a very short period of time. The power of that impulse is not spent, but still gathers breadth and energy." — pp. 25–27.

We feel obliged to make a few remarks on these statements; they shall be respectful as regards the writer of the statements, but they must be plainly uttered because of a responsible duty to the dead and to the living, and to what we esteem a holy and just cause. We begin with affirming that a better understanding for the future between the two parties in the ruptured fellowship of Congregationalism in this State will depend upon a more just view of the relations between them in the past. If, as Mr. Stearns says, "the recollections of many a wounded spirit" revive when such matters as he hints at are recalled, he will allow us kindly to remind him that such representations as he makes are not calculated to soothe the bitter remembrances of Unitarians. We would ask Mr. Stearns, if a plain-minded reader of his discourse, in Europe, or even in other States of this Union, would not take from his statements an impression most unjust to the moral character, the literary and religious repute, and even to the respectability, of our first Unitarians? Is he prepared, too, to sustain the grave imputation which he insinuates against the justices of the Supreme Court of the State? Let us look one moment at the facts.

In the first settlement of the towns in this State, the "meeting-houses" were erected at the cost of all the inhabitants of each precinct. The ministers were supported by a common tax, levied like that for opening and repairing roads, and building and maintaining schools. The support of public worship, therefore, was at the cost of all the inhabitants of a parish, and all ministerial lands and funds were a joint stock, subject in their direction and use to the vote of a majority. But there rose up in each parish, and in the congregation that assembled in each place of worship, — *a church body*, so called, — a body of communi-

cants, or attendants on the Lord's Supper, who attained that privilege by assenting to a certain covenant of doctrinal faith. That covenant might be altered from time to time, and be made more or less rigid, according to the will of the communicants themselves. Thus the passage from the *congregation* into the *church* depended upon the terms which those already in the church should demand. In the slow progress of those liberal tendencies which were relaxing the Calvinism of our parishes, and introducing a more Scriptural faith, very various consequences or incidents marked the change in different places. In some cases the minister, the church, and the congregation all adopted Unitarian views. In other cases a majority of the *church* and of the congregation respectively, or of the latter only, made the transition. In still other cases the whole *church body* remained Calvinistic, and no one of the congregation, however pious, could obtain entrance into the charmed inclosure, because those already in kept out all new claimants who would not comply with their hard terms.

Meanwhile the law recognized only the parish, or the congregation, and took no account of the fold of "the elect" gathered within the fold of "the called." Cases soon arose in which it was necessary to choose and settle a new minister in an old meeting-house, the parishioners assembling in which were divided into two parties; the congregation, or the large majority who were to be preached to by the minister and to support the minister, were Unitarians; the members of the *church* were Calvinists, perhaps all of them, because no one of the congregation would or could join their fellowship. What was to be done? The members of the congregation had succeeded to the joint-stock property of the parish in the meeting-house, the result of a common tax, as they had to the same property in the roads, the school-houses, the pound, the stocks, the burying-ground, and the town records. If a portion of their number, uniting under a covenant of their own making, could claim the meeting-house, select a minister of their own choosing, and compel a congregation to hear him and support him, they could have claimed, with equal justice, the exclusive use of all the other town property. The Supreme Court, whose justices Mr. Stearns so gravely impugns, decided that the major part of the parishioners, — whether under one covenant or another, or free from all covenants, — who were to hear the minister and to maintain him, to build the meeting-house, to repair it, and to assemble in it, — had rights which a minority, under the name of the *church*, or under any other name, could not infringe. Doubtless many painful consequences followed. And such would have followed had the decision been otherwise. But in the latter case the majority,

instead of the minority, would have suffered them. The "pastors who gathered their broken and disheartened flocks into school-houses, into private dwellings, or under the shades of a tree," and "aged ministers standing on the steps of their church doors, bolted out," certainly have our sympathy. They would, indeed, have our fullest sympathy, had we not reason to believe that they were under the excitement of a temper which aided essentially in keeping them warm. These pastors, however, were very ready to bolt out their congregations.

Mr. Stearns speaks in his discourse of a "*Socinian frost.*" He cannot forget that the chilling word was applied by the early Methodists to the churches of his own communion in both Old and New England. The word is relative in all such applications of it, and as there are so many different sorts and causes and effects of heat and cold, the word *frost* is unmeaning, except as it conveys a moral reflection upon those to whose views or measures it is applied. Indeed, so far as any one of the amiable and courteous character which belongs to Mr. Stearns can convey severe imputations and harsh judgments through gentle words, he throughout is guilty of that injustice towards Unitarians. What had "the Revolutionary war, and the prevalence of sensational philosophy," to do with the origin of Unitarian opinions here? Is it just in the preacher to imply that immorality and infidelity and Unitarianism have a common origin? Unitarianism grew up in the hearts and minds of Calvinists, some of the noblest and purest of the New England stock. It was strictly and entirely the result of the sincerest study which human beings can give to the New Testament. It was found, not sought, encountered, not looked for. It forced itself upon the convictions of unbiassed, truth-loving, and pious persons, — persons who need fear comparison at no single point, in no single Christian grace, with the noblest saints of Calvinism. We hold our Trinitarian brethren, and the excellent author of this discourse, to the frank admission, that Unitarians *claim* for their views a strict and entire sanction from the Scriptures, that they *believe* the truth of God is with them, and that no "philosophy," no "Revolutionary war," no fear or hope, or mental or moral bias, is concerned in leading them to their convictions. All the compliments paid to Unitarians in such terms as those of Mr. Stearns, as "not without qualities adapted to interest a cultivated and a Christian mind," as a "denomination embracing no common share of respectability, of intelligence, of accomplishment, and of generous and amiable virtues, whatever may be said of the more vulgar admixture which has found affinities amongst them," — all such compliments are utterly worthless, and really, considering the nature of the case, severe reflections, if not insults, upon us, when

connected with the implication that we rely upon any thing short of the thoroughly Scriptural character of our views and aims. There is no "less of a repellent attitude" towards us in such expressions, than there was in the bitterest denunciations uttered in the opening of the strife. When Dr. Beecher, in defending the views of his famous Ordination Discourse at Worcester, affirmed that Unitarians enlisted the country drunkards in their church votes, there was a coarse vulgarity in the charge which might stir passion. But when our honored Unitarian fathers and brethren are assumed as relying upon any thing less than a fair and a complete Scripture warrant for their distinguishing views, we feel deeply aggrieved. We claim for them, not all the truth, nor all the piety, nor all the zeal, that are within the reach and aim of all Christians, but an equal earnestness of desire to find the truth of God and of Christianity, and an equally confident assurance that they have found it, as ever kindled in the heart of the most revered Calvinistic father of New England Congregationalism. This, and nothing short of it, is the demand which we make for our views and their disciples.

The bias under which Mr. Stearns and many of his brethren seem to us to be led into an unfair treatment of us, is in quietly assuming that the convictions of Unitarians are any the less dear to them, any the less linked in with all that is animating and precious to the heart, than are the views of Trinitarians to them. According to this view, there would be nothing very painful to a whole congregation of Unitarians in being bolted out from a meeting-house in which they had worshipped from childhood, or in being compelled to listen to denunciations against them from the pulpit, and to the preaching of doctrines which to their minds are a complete perversion of the truths presented in Scripture. Mr. Stearns reminds his brethren that they are not to be "indifferent to the utter insufficiency and perilous tendency of Unitarianism." We have no complaint to urge against his holding or expressing so sad an opinion of our views. But he will allow us to say, that we are the best judges as to the *sufficiency* of these views, while the decision as to their *perilous* character rests with God only. We have no more apprehension that we shall be condemned for departing from the belief of our fathers in some doctrinal matters, than for differing with them as to the delusion of witchcraft.

There is an intimation in this discourse, that Unitarians are gaining somewhat upon the respect of Trinitarians, because of some alleged signs of increased spirituality among us. We are grateful for the kindliness of feeling which inspires this allowance, but we must ascribe it wholly to the increasing or the better knowledge of the preacher as to our views and aims. Of

course, we cannot accept the praise in its literal force. This would be to magnify ourselves by the depreciation of the honored dead. If we have among us any more spiritual men, any more impressive and beautiful examples of the Christian faith and character, than were shown in Buckminster, Abbot, Ware, Channing, Tuckerman, and their companions, we have yet to discover them; and if we discover them, we shall not be hasty in proclaiming it.

Finally, while again expressing for Mr. Stearns a most sincere personal regard, we must say that fraternal relations, in colleges, churches, schools, and all Christian intercourse, between Trinitarian Congregationalists and ourselves, depend upon their admitting, or taking pains to inform themselves, that we are neither disguised infidels, nor wresters of Scripture, nor trifiers with the salvation of our souls; that we have and use all the scholarship, seriousness, and singleness of purpose which they themselves exercise in the interpretation of Scripture, and that to our own Master we stand or fall.

Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages. Including his "Light in Dark Places." By Dr. Augustus Neander. *Translated from the German.* By J. E. Ryland. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1852. 12mo. pp. 538.

This is Church History in an intelligible and a useful form. We consider the volume worth more for popular use than the four large and elaborate volumes in which the learned author has found an American translator. The title of the book is a sufficient indication of its contents and its subject-matter. In four large divisions of his theme, the author discusses the following general topics: Christian Life during the first Three Centuries; Christian Life when Christianity was in the Ascendant in the Roman Empire; Effects of Christianity during and after the Irruption of the Northern Nations into the Roman Empire; and Sketches of the History of Missions in the Middle Ages. The treatment of the last two topics constitutes what was a separate work of Neander's, under the title of "Light in Dark Places." This most significant title is remarkably appropriate to a collection of those glimmering rays which shine out here and there, sometimes with rather a dubious brilliancy, in the midst of a most obscure gloom. It is difficult to feel much confidence in the dim and often mythical traditions which are the main materials even of Neander's pages in this last portion of the book before us. Though, of course, so intelligent a writer does not yield credence to, or even mention, the nonsensical wonders which

have been related of St. Patrick, he omits any recognition of the exceeding dubiousness attaching even to the existence of such a person. It is a rather singular, but a perfectly explicable and provable fact, that we can place far more confidence in the historical references to our faith in its very earliest ages, than we can in those of almost any subsequent period, till near our own times. The first references to Christianity which Lardner has gathered from Pagan and Christian sources come from a period of authentic history, from the pens of men who lived in times of comparative intelligence, and who were engaged more or less in literary pursuits which were favorable to accuracy and distinctness of expression and statement. After the partition of the Roman Empire, civilization declined, all the arts of life suffered, and literature, especially the historical department of it, though it never wholly died out, degenerated into a mere record of the fabulous and the marvellous.

The first part of this work of Neandef's is, therefore, of especial value. It presents us with a most vivid and admirable delineation of the common influences of early Christianity upon all the varieties of human character. It shows us how Christianity adapted itself to the wants and susceptibilities of men, and how in turn men accommodated their views of the Christian religion to many weaknesses of their own, which were too deeply fixed in their personal or social experiences to admit of being violently changed. One very striking fact, which is forcibly presented to the mind in the perusal of these pages, is, that sentiments, usages, and principles which have become mere commonplaces to us, as if addressing us through the light of nature and a part of the very common sense or natural law of life, are made to appear original and strange as we are told of their first introduction into the world. These simple, reasonable matters, which are so taken as established by us from mere familiarity of mind with them, were novel, peculiar, and very startling when first brought into the usages and views of the people of Greece and Rome. We see that they were antagonistic, revolutionary, in all their influences, and we note the mild but most effective agency of the Gospel in moulding those sentiments and relations of human life which yield only to a radical power of a resistless character. The pagan opponent of the Gospel, Celsus, said, "He must be void of understanding who can believe that Greeks and barbarians, in Asia, Europe, and Libya, all nations to the ends of the earth, can unite in the reception of one and the same religious doctrine." This contingency, which, according to any pagan system of religion, was an impossibility, is precisely what Christianity has already realized to a degree that proves that there is no obstacle to its accomplishing the very result which Celsus so boldly challenges.

Incidentally, Neander illustrates the influence of the Platonic philosophy, in facilitating the transition from Paganism to Christianity, and also in introducing some of the early perversions and corruptions of the faith. From that philosophy, and not from the Apostolic writings, came the doctrine of the Trinity. Neander skilfully weaves into his narrative some of the most beautiful passages from the earliest Christian writers. His own mild orthodoxy appears in such expressions as these: — "the fountain of self-deception lying in man's nature"; — "a purifying, redeeming, conciliating God."

Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England. By WILLIAM WHEWELL, D. D., Master of Trinity College, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. London: Parker. 1852. 8vo. pp. 265.

PROFESSOR WHEWELL having edited the admirable work of Sir James Mackintosh, which is so similar in its design to his own, very properly thinks himself justified in treating the common theme with reference to the point of view which he adopts in his ethical system. He undertakes the difficult task of reviewing the series of modern ethical writers for the sake of pointing out "how far each was right, and in what way he contributed to the progress of moral speculation" in England. If we were to be closely critical in comparing his aim with his performance, we should say that the method he has chosen for pointing out "how far each was right," was by the somewhat indirect course of showing how far each was wrong. The result of either process may be much the same in effect, though they essentially differ in tone of argument and in the character of the criticisms which they respectively involve. Taking his own stand upon that foundation which recognizes an internal principle, not an external object, as the basis of morals, he traces the historical development of the former in all its issues with the latter, and thus decides how fast and how far ethical science has advanced. The issue opened between the two great schools of moralists is as ancient as the days of Plato; and in fact, how little can we say has been added to the substantial truth of the science since the time of its mighty master, except from the light of the Christian revelation!

Professor Whewell takes up the beginnings of moral science in England as it was first pursued by Protestants as a substitute for the casuistical science of the Roman Church. Indeed, the first moral essays after the Reformation, both of Continental and of British writers, were evidently constructed on the model of

the old ecclesiastical discussions, which, as involved with the principles recognized in the canon law, had never had a perfect freedom of range. The duties of the confessional must have afforded rare opportunities for a wise and a pure man to learn the deep philosophy of motives, while doubtless the iniquities of the confessional did more than all the monstrous doctrines of Hobbes, Mandeville, and Bentham have ever effected, towards corrupting the springs of virtue in the human heart.

The startling apparition of Hobbes, the effect of which is vividly kept alive for all time by the skill of the engraver as exhibited in the frontispiece to the "Leviathan," seems to have been necessary, in order to awaken a living interest in the paramount importance of a true moral principle as the basis of all security, individual and social. The answers made to him first distinctly set forth the obligations of morals as resting upon some natural, inborn, indestructible moral element in man. After this internal principle had been appealed to under various names and definitions, and with differences of analysis, inference, and deductions which divided its advocates, the aid of revealed religion was enlisted to confirm the common ground, and to harmonize the lesser disputes of those who occupied it. But, considering the extreme differences which divide theologians as to the present furniture of man's being, the question of a total corruption of nature, and our relation to God, it may well be inferred, that, if these extreme differences had been rigidly and fully introduced into our rival schools of moral philosophy, "revelation" would hardly have ended the strife. Mr. Sewell's "Christian Morals," as a contribution from Puseyism, in which "regeneration by baptism" is more than a substitute for the highest functions ever attributed to the "moral sense," affords a specimen of what our ethical systems would be if constructed on sectarian principles.

Our author yields but a stinted tribute to Locke. We cannot think him wholly fair in laying such stress upon the dubiousness of the term REFLECTION in Locke's system. How few words are there, which, as used in speculative systems, are not open to the same criticism.

The following good sentence is a fair hit upon those who object to *metaphysics:* "We often hear persons declare that they have no esteem for metaphysics, and intend to shun all metaphysical reasonings; and this is actually the prelude to some specimen of very *bad* metaphysics; for I know no better term by which to designate the process of misunderstanding and confounding those elements of truth which are supplied by the relations of our own ideas." (p. 152.)

Though there is nothing brilliant in these pages, they furnish a convenient and an interesting sketch of the theme which they treat.

Ruth; a Pastoral Poem of Bethlehem-Ephratah. By WILLIAM PLUMER. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 18mo. pp. 37.

THE precise age of the book of Ruth is involved in obscurity. In its present form it is distinguished from the undoubtedly earliest portions of the Hebrew canon by the use of several Chaldaic terminations. It was evidently written after the elevation of David to the throne, and before the decline of the dynasty which he established; for David's genealogy is appended to the story in such a way as to indicate that the interest attached to the fortunes of Ruth depended, in part at least, on the fact of his being her descendant. A later seems more probable than an earlier date, from the mention of certain customs as not only obsolete, but as having passed into oblivion. There are several phrases and turns of expression found in Ruth, and also in the books of Samuel, but found nowhere else in the Old Testament; thus rendering it highly probable that these books are to be ascribed to the same age, if not to the same author. But if this be the case, we can hardly doubt that in Ruth we have simply the recasting of some record nearly contemporary with the events narrated. So delicate an aroma of remote antiquity could hardly have been transmitted by tradition through the intervening centuries of growth in luxury and decline in all the elements of true nobility.

But whenever or by whomsoever it was written, human literature has nothing of its kind, that can bear comparison, in genuine pathos, in the lifelike delineation of the purest affections, with this beautiful pastoral. No ancient document stands in less need of external evidence to confirm its authenticity, such an air of verisimilitude characterizes the leading personages, so perfectly does the whole series of incidents harmonize with the blended simplicity, refinement, and dignity of the patriarchal times. The portrait of Boaz, the princely husbandman, with his uncorrupt integrity, profuse hospitality, and munificent charity, could have been drawn only while the memory of its original was fresh and fragrant. Nor can we say less of Ruth, the self-sacrificing, and Naomi, the unexacting, both typical characters, the former representing what the young, the beautiful, and strong may and should be; the latter, what the afflicted, infirm, and aged ought to be. It is in the correlative virtues of this mother and daughter that the great charm of the narrative consists.

Famine had driven Naomi, with her husband and two sons, to the more fertile territory of Moab. For a while they are prospered; and the sons marry daughters of the land, one of whom, Ruth, according to venerable Jewish tradition, was nearly allied

to the royal family. But a foreign grave soon closes over father and sons. The home-longing, so prone to grow upon the hearts of the aged, becomes strong in Naomi, and she resolves to revisit her native soil, and to cast herself in her penury upon the ample charity provided by the law of Moses for the widow and the fatherless. What a rich resource for domestic toil and comfort, for her relief in want, for her solace in loneliness, for kindly care under the burden of growing years, would one of her daughters-in-law prove to her! And they are both ready to unite their fortunes with hers; for their love for the departed survives in filial tenderness for the living. But they leave their home and friends, their early ties and fond associations with the land of their birth; and in Palestine, she knows, all will be new and strange to them. She therefore earnestly resists their willing sacrifice, insomuch that Orpah yields to her entreaties. But Ruth will not turn back. She, indeed, may well expect to be regarded with suspicion or with scorn among that peculiar people, of sympathies so exclusive, with a law, a faith, and a ritual which isolate them among the nations of the earth. But, come what may, she will not let the desolate widow return alone.

They arrive at Bethlehem, where a generation of strangers has in great part taken the place of Naomi's kindred and early friends. They are destitute and unknown. And here we see renewed the same loving conflict between the unexacting spirit of the one and the cheerful self-sacrifice of the other, which had marked their departure from Moab. Ruth's whole care is for her mother's sustenance, ease, and comfort. She goes out to glean, that Naomi may live at ease, and with honest pride pours at her feet each day's fruit of her own industry and the munificence of Boaz. In every step she seeks her mother's counsel and follows her guidance, and in every instance of success rejoices chiefly for her sake. Meanwhile, Naomi's constant solicitude is for Ruth's safety, purity,* and happiness. There is not a trait of the selfish, exacting, querulous spirit which age and penury always bring with them when unfortified by religious faith and principle. She cherishes as beyond all price the costly

* Ruth's nocturnal interview with Boaz, though conformed to a style of manners widely different from our own, is conducted with a scrupulous regard to the then existing notions of propriety. It was only thus that she could obtain the opportunity of urging her suit, without witnesses whose presence might have been prejudicial to her success. She takes the place of a suppliant at his feet, and is represented as keeping that place till she leaves him. The request, "Spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid," (as it is rendered in our version,) literally denotes, "Spread thy wing"; that is, extend thy protection, — aid me in securing the rights appertaining to my deceased husband. And her suit manifestly was not for the boon which she obtained of his own hand in marriage, but for his aid in the redemption of property that had passed into other ownership.

sacrifice of country, home, and friends, which the young exile has made in her behalf; and her incessant effort is, that the sacrifice may be compensated by respect, honor, and prosperity in the land of her sojourn. Her whole conduct is in beautiful accordance with that benediction of Boaz, (was a richer form of supplication ever uttered?) "The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust." The prayer of the princely kinsman is answered in a way which had not entered his thoughts when he gave it utterance. The fond wishes of the widow's heart are more than fulfilled. The stranger from Moab becomes the patriarch's bride; and as her first-born is laid in Naomi's bosom, the cup of joy, that had been drained to its dregs, is put brimful to her lips, while it is said to her, "Blessed be the Lord, which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman, that his name may be famous in Israel. And he shall be to thee a restorer of thy life, and a nourisher of thine old age; for thy daughter-in-law, which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him."

Fit mother was this adopted daughter of Israel for the royal line from the house of Judah. Nor are we left without evidence that the fragrant memory of her virtues lingered in the land of her birth no less than in that of her adoption. When her illustrious descendant David was hunted by Saul from covert to covert, and all his kindred with him were doomed to death, he went to the king of Moab, and said, "Let my father and mother, I pray thee, come forth, and be with you, till I know what God will do for me"; and the king accorded to them the desired shelter and protection. Now as the story of Ruth and this incident are the only two instances in which Israel and Moab appear under any relations but those of irreconcilable hostility, we cannot but regard them as standing in the relation of cause and effect. We doubt not that it was for Ruth's sake that David could claim and secure a home for his parents under auspices else so unpromising.

Nor is it without satisfaction that we mark the place of this stranger from Moab among the ancestry of our Saviour. She breathed the spirit of the cross. She did, she gave, she offered, all that she could. Such souls as hers were kindled by the foreshining of the Gospel day. They were quickened by that Divine Word, which was in the world from the beginning, though it first became flesh and pitched its tabernacle among men in Jesus Christ. It may have been from some such feeling as this, from a sense of peculiar spiritual kindred between Ruth and his divine Master, that St. Matthew gives her name (and that of no other, who was the only wife of her husband) among the female ancestry of the Messiah.

The poem before us, were it a mere metrical paraphrase, would be worthless, — were it a modernized version of the story, it would be absolutely offensive. But it is neither. The author has indeed adhered closely to the Scriptural narrative, but has illustrated and adorned it from every collateral source to which taste could seek and learning open the access for him. The aspects of the outward universe, the nature-worship of the Gentiles, the prophecies of the Old Testament, are all put under contribution, not lavishly, but with excellent artistical judgment and the happiest effect. We have failed to discover in the entire poem a single anachronism or *anatopism.* The whole is as it might have been originally written, barring the English and the rhyme. Indeed, apart from its beauty as a poem, it has a positive exegetical value, as the work of one who has faithfully studied his story, not alone in its recorded incidents, but in the position, culture, surroundings, beliefs, and manners of its principal personages and the men of their times. The character of Ruth is made more attractive and immeasurably more lifelike, by her being represented as clinging to the memories of her native home and her early religion, while a sincere proselyte to the faith of Abraham and the law of Moses. Her adoration is all given to Jehovah, while her æsthetic nature still gravitates toward the worship of the heavenly host, which her more enlightened piety now condemns and abjures.

The poetic diction is happily chosen; the imagery affluent, but chaste; the rhythm smooth and harmonious. The measure of the main body of the poem is anapæstic, and of so spirited a movement, that it might have been sustained throughout without monotony or weariness; but it is broken at intervals by several graceful little lyrics, in admirable keeping with the spirit of the story and the times. We quote one of these as a specimen of the work. It is a song of Ruth to "The Evening Star."

"O, blame not, mother! that I stray
So far, so frequent, from thy side;
While, 'mid the hills, I wind my way,
Through glen remote and forest wide.
A stranger, I have made these hills
A home of quiet joy to me;
A joy in groves and mountain rills,
In sun and breeze, in rock and tree.

"Oh! great my joy at dawning bright;
Yet greater, holier, when, from far,
All heaven descends in dewy light,
From yonder lone and loving star.
Benign she smiles, as when, of yore,
I bowed, a votaress, at her shrine;
Taught early, gladly, to adore
Each glittering orb as all divine.

"Yet to my beating heart is sent,
At times, from yonder peopled sky,
A throb so deep of discontent,
All hope seems vain, and I could die;
A mingling strange of joy and grief,
So earthly dark, so heavenly bright;
'T is each by turns, and one how brief!
Alternate sadness and delight.

"Fain would thy child, thus wandering far,
Some home of calmer thought attain,
Serene as yon divinest star,
Nor feel, nor fear, earth's cares again.
Above the mists that lurk below,
Her home, in yon unclouded west,
Is throned in light, where thought of woe
Comes ne'er to break the spirit's rest." — pp. 17, 18.

We close our notice with what seems to us a peculiarly beautiful versification of the prophetic promise fulfilled in the person of Ruth's most illustrious descendant.

"Beneath his mild sceptre no foes shall molest;
The lamb and the lion together shall rest;
The kid with the leopard shall sport on that day,
And a child round the den of the cocatrice play.
The lame man, that halted, shall leap in his joy,
And songs of glad triumph the dumb shall employ;
The deaf hear His praises; and, waked from the night
Of darkness that wrapped him, the blind walk in light;
All sighing and sorrow from earth pass away;
The morn rise with shouting, and songs close the day;
Rich harvests wait ever the husbandman's hand;
No plague waste the city, nor famine the land;
The sword rust unhonored, war's banner be furled,
And love rule, in meekness of wisdom, the world;
While purity, kindness, and truth shall remain;
And peace, like a river, roll joy o'er the plain.
The wronged and down-trodden, the meek, at his birth,
Shall rise, in his might, and inherit the earth." — pp. 33, 34.

Things New and Old: an Installation Sermon. By T. W. Higginson, Minister of the Worcester Free Church. Worcester: Earle & Drew. 1852. 8vo. pp. 30.

There are sentiments of rich beauty in the exordium of this Sermon, which prepare us for a genial communication of convictions held with profound sincerity in the heart of the preacher, however they may accord with equally sincere convictions in his readers. The glory of a September scene, fulfilling the silent

promise of the year, and illustrating the great law of successive growths of the New from the basis of the Old, suggests to Mr. Higginson a test by which to decide the question, "Is a new institution to live?" The answer is, "It must rest on principles that date back to the origin of the universe; coeval with those which rule the green leaves and the yellow. Accumulated ages must supply the spirit, and to-day the form; and speedy despair waits upon that bankrupt enterprise which cannot bring forth from its treasury things Old and New." The preacher's doctrine, true in its spirit, and most gracefully spoken in a few succeeding paragraphs, is, that, while doing justice to the ancestral glories of the past, its martyrs, saints, and heroes, and clinging fondly to the truths on which they reared their noblest title to our reverence, we must not weakly attach ourselves to dead forms of the past, which, as they belong to the sepulchre, will draw us thither with them if we retain them. "The conservative and the reformer are thus the two permanent forces in society. Neither desires at heart to be exclusive. The reformer wishes only to secure the new forms, willing to retain the old spirit; the conservative is anxious only to preserve the old spirit, which he thinks endangered by the new forms. But they distrust each other, and so the antagonism continues." They are to regard each other as useful checks. The reformer urges the plough forward through the field which he is tilling with the conservative, while the latter presses the machine down to retard its motion; otherwise it trips in the furrow, and the work is vain. The reformatory spirit needs a resisting restraint, that it may be wise and thorough in its efforts. The Church is the most reasonable agency to which we can look for a reconciling influence between these two forces. The churches must try and expand sufficiently to take in "the heroic rebels" of reform. "We need more radicalism in our religion, and more religion in our radicalism." The selfishness and inhumanity of much of the conservatism of the community, as the preacher most truly says, have turned a most searching eye upon those views of the religion of the community which allows such exclusion of real religion from some of the most vital interests of human life. We next find some very temperate and candid, but undeniable statements, of the real mischief of attempting to trim the lessons of religion into subservience to popular sins. While the preacher in a manly spirit owns what is too true of the attempts of some laymen to overawe ministers, and of the weakness of some ministers in allowing themselves to be overawed, he in the same manly spirit rebukes the indiscriminate severity of "reformers," amounting actually to slander, in reference to this matter. Asserting in strong terms the vital necessity of united worship, and the value

of true Christian exhortation based on a Scripture text, Mr. Higginson proceeds to define the position which his enterprise of a New Church has taken in reference to religious ideas and practices. One of the most just and temperate delineations that we have ever read of the darker features and influences of Calvinism — the predominating style of religion in our country — is drawn by the preacher, not, however, from his own imagination, but from the sad confessions of its disciples. The first sentiment of the preacher in which we do not accord, is found midway in his Sermon, thus expressed: "By no reasonable construction, as it seems to me, can the Bible be converted into a consistently Unitarian or Universalist book." We agree so far as the latter epithet is concerned, but we have no misgiving and no perplexity as to the Unitarian character of the Bible. It needs no *conversion* to our minds in order to teach our views. Though we should be far from dissenting from all that the preacher asserts and implies in the remainder of his discourse, we should object to some of his statements, either as needing qualification, or as one-sided, or as not tenable. The spirit of them all is earnest and truth-loving, but there is in the expression of them a warmth, not to say a heat, which is unfavorable to a guarded and well-balanced declaration of opinion on some matters, which are so serious in their relations as to require the utmost deliberation in any one who by rash dealing with them would peril rather than advance the holiest interests of the human race. Though we have not looked to the connection of the extract, we cannot but think that the passage quoted as a "mournful confession of Dr. Channing" has reference to a loss of aid from Jesus as an example, *if the Trinitarian view of him be the true view.* Mr. Higginson's phraseology, while it admits of this explanation, is not distinct enough to make it emphatic. We have learned that there is nothing bad, and nothing good, that may not be said of *the Church.* We think we know, too, the perplexities which the Scriptures present in view of science and history, and we are satisfied that there is an honest and a sufficient way of meeting them which shall leave their authority, their supremacy as a rule of faith and duty, and their divine sanction, perfectly secure. Mr. Higginson believes the same; only his way of expressing himself would not be our way. If we were gathering a church on his basis, we should feel bound to announce in most decided terms, that all levellers, fanatics, reformers, come-outers, and unbelievers, who attempted to identify themselves with the movement for the sake of answering some ends of their own, or in bitterness, envy, restlessness, or hardness of heart, would be received into the movement only on the condition that they made themselves the very first subjects of all their projected reforms.

Mr. Higginson, of course, expects that this will be understood; as he knows enough of human nature to be aware that some such persons will attach themselves to his movement, and as his own entire lack of bitterness and his perfect singleness and sincerity of heart are transparently clear in every thing that has brought him before the community. But with our views of the heterogeneousness of the class known as "reformers," male and female, we should feel bound to give some of them a work which would begin, though it might not end, with themselves, provided their time of probation was lengthened out. When announcing, by implication, that the rite of the Lord's Supper is not to be observed in their fellowship, — which in our view is a mistake fatal to the best prospects of the enterprise, — Mr. Higginson says that he perceives "no practical difference between the Church, in the usual sense of the word [as a body of communicants], and the world." We should think it wiser to disregard the usual sense of a word, and to hold to the good which the thing signified by the word in a *right sense* can effect, than to give up a distinction which, after all, is a real and a most serious one. He says, "If I were to hear that I was to reside in the same house with two persons, the one a church-member and the other an atheist, I should hardly know from which to expect most honesty or most kindness." He would know very well from which of the two *he ought to receive* the most honesty and the most kindness both, and thus his own moral judgment would recognize the very distinction which society recognizes and the whole truth of things enjoins, though society, like himself, may be deceived in individual cases. Nor do we see any deadly evil in pews for people to sit in regularly, with their children by them, any more than we do in their having dwelling-houses of their own, or even hats and bonnets of their own. If there is an advantage given "to pocket over piety under the pew-system," the evil may be counterbalanced by the fact that the rich are more directly in the line of those warnings and appeals which they peculiarly need. As to Mr. Higginson's proposition, occasionally to have laymen in his place, considering that he has first to find men who will fill it, and then that lay hearers are rather more averse to such an arrangement than are ministers, we may leave unsaid what more we might say.

But by no qualifying word would we seem to withhold approbation from the main purpose, spirit, doctrine, and sentiment of this Sermon. It would do credit to the heart and head of any preacher among us. Our exceptions to it are trivial compared with our hearty and grateful recognition in the preacher of an eminently devout and Christian and humane aim in his new enterprise. If he can give success to it, if it do not fail from its

seeming antagonism, and from the incongruity of materials, and from the intrusion of false brethren, it will be because of the fullness and the fervor of his own heart's desire to do a real Christian work.

The Hundred Boston Orators appointed by the Municipal Authorities and other Public Bodies, from 1770 *to* 1852; *comprising Historical Gleanings, illustrating the Principles and Progress of our Republican Institutions.* By James Spear Loring. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 694.

The general aim and the very great merits of this volume will secure it a cordial reception and a high estimation, whatever imperfection in details a rigid criticism may detect in it. It must be the result of a very great amount of labor, involving a wide search and a careful investigation of documents for the sake of verifying facts. The main purpose of the volume is, to give us biographical sketches of gentlemen more or less distinguished in their career, and all sufficiently so to have won an enviable honor, who have served as orators for the town and city of Boston, on occasions commemorative of great republican principles and events. Beginning with the annual observances which were made to mark a dark spot, but an animating spirit in our calendar, in connection with the bloody affray in what is now called State Street, and following down our patriotic celebrations to this year, we have an unbroken series of stirring chronicles, richly laden with antiquarian lore. There is a vast amount of lively anecdote in the volume. Its biographical relations, its local incidents, and its numerous quotations from ephemeral publications, as well as from sources which are within the reach of very few, give the book an historical character. Some readers will question whether it were wise for the Editor, in view of the general acceptance which he would wish to secure for this volume, to have introduced into it judgments of his own on living persons and existing controversies, which have not yet become matters of calm historical review. We have met with sentences in his book which we wish were not there. Especially as his great theme is Liberty, we regret that it contains any censure upon any zeal which has been spent in that sacred cause, or upon any champion of it whose mode of advocacy cannot disprove the integrity of his heart. With this exception, and we ought to add that it covers only a very few passages, we regard this great book with high approbation. We commend it to the winter reading of the old, the middle-aged, and the young, as full of

lively and instructive matter, as sacred to true patriotism, and as worthy to have an influence in training our native-born and our adopted citizens.

Religion divorced from Theology. A Farewell Discourse, preached before the Congregational Society in Groveland, August 29, 1852. By DAVID A. WASSON. Boston: Thurston, Torry, & Emerson. 1852. 8vo. pp. 32.

THERE is stern but wholesome truth most bravely told in this discourse. If the preacher is animated by too intense a spirit in the utterance of convictions which he holds with the whole assurance of his soul, he has not to ask indulgence on the ground of having expressed them with a single word of unchristian feeling. He is too sincere to be passionate, too manly to be malignant. He has fulfilled a ministry of *one year* over a Calvinistic church; — a short period, indeed, but one long enough in which to make great discoveries, and to confirm sufficiently misgivings which it is obvious he entertained as he entered upon his work. He thought it might be given to him to spend a few years in a sacred and precious relation with a Christian flock, who would wish to hear from him the real, living lessons of the Gospel of Christ, as they apply to the hearts and sins of men, the iniquities and vices of society, and the solemn responsibilities of professed disciples. But he has been disappointed, and he says so in the best language which heart and conscience can dictate, and without the intermingling of a single drop of bitterness, or any offensive personality. He finds that a creed severed from the actual necessities of life, and a theology based upon tessellated texts, instead of upon the living relations between God and his children, define the terms within which a majority of his church expected him to exercise his ministry. The discovery leads him to draw the severing line between such theology and the work which alone he is willing to do, or thinks worth the doing. He offers the hand of ministerial fellowship to all who, with hopeful hearts and quick consciences, are ready to exchange sympathy and help with him in the true work of a Christian minister. We offer, not a compliment, but an expression of true sympathy to many whose doctrinal fellowship he has now left, when we say that we doubt not that there is more than one among them longing to speak out as this earnest man has spoken, and that the proof of this conviction of ours will come soon and abundant.

Parisian Sights and French Principles, seen through American Spectacles. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 264.

We took up this book intending merely to skim it, but we soon found that we must read the whole of it, or none; and preferring the former contingency, we have been abundantly rewarded. It is a most companionable volume to take up in a leisure hour, for it is lively, instructive, and wise. The writer always stops this side of tediousness, while he goes enough into details to give us very distinct ideas or images. There are tokens in it of a cosmopolitan experience, and of a largeness of view consequent thereupon. We commend the volume to those who will take our word as a reason for their selections among the multitude of books.

The Gentle Shepherd. A Pastoral Comedy. By Allan Ramsay. *With a Life of the Author, and the Opinions of various eminent Men on the Work. To which is added, a greatly improved Glossary, and a Catalogue of the Scottish Poets.* New York: William Gowans. 1852. 12mo. pp. lxxiii. and 105.

This poem, which is one of the gems of our literature, is here happily set forth in an apparatus which well becomes it. The illustrative matter embraces, among other papers, Tennant's Life, and remarks upon the writings of the poet; an essay upon the poem by Lord Woodhouselee, and the opinions pronounced upon it by Drs. Aikin, Beattie, and Blair, by Tytler, Pinkerton, Ritson, Roscoe, Campbell, and Leigh Hunt.

Hagar, a Story of To-day. By Alice Carey. New York: Redfield. 1852. 12mo. pp. 300.

We must deliberately pronounce this work, if judged by any high standard, a failure. It possesses strong interest, passages of various kinds of great merit; but it also displays gross incongruities of incident and absurdities of character, and is nowhere relieved from an unhealthy, painful burden of morbid tones. There are things in the book which betray, with remarkable distinctness and power, a high order of talent, even genius, in the writer; but the want of a moral purpose, the glaring absence of usefulness from the results of reading it, are its condemnation,

independent of its grave and numerous positive faults. To us, the final development of the plot is inexcusably horrible. We trust the author will present herself before the literary public again, and with a work more worthy of herself, her genius, and her aims.

Stories of Ancient Rome. By F. W. Ricord. *With Illustrations.* New York : M. W. Dodd. 1852. 16mo. pp. 304.

Though this book seems to have been written with particular reference to the wants of young readers, it is worthy of the attention of a great many of their elders, whether they have or have not the larger works upon the subject. The author designs to follow it with other volumes, carrying on the history through times subsequent to the close of the Roman monarchy, at which period this volume ends. Without abandoning the good old romance of the narrative which Niebuhr has so ruthlessly disposed of, Mr. Ricord relates the history of the Seven Kings of the Seven-hilled City in a way to charm attention. We think him very successful in accomplishing his aim, and we commend the result to a new generation of readers.

Comparative Physiognomy, or Resemblances between Men and Animals. By James W. Redfield, M. D. *Illustrated by Three Hundred and Thirty Engravings.* New York : Redfield. 1852. 8vo. pp. 334.

Though the ingenious author of this pleasant book has drawn largely upon his fancy, that fancy is not only founded on, but is greatly exercised and governed by facts. He has provided for his readers some rare instruction conveyed in a way sometimes grotesque in its drollery, but always significant as well as amusing. In his Preface, the author vindicates in a rich vein of humor the claims of Physiognomy against the selfish assumptions of Phrenology, or the face against the skull. The matter of the book, in which his chief dependence is upon the engraver's art, is a very skilful illustration of the physiognomical resemblances between human beings and beasts and birds, including Frenchmen, too, in the one category and frogs in the other. While the nationalities of our race are thus matched in the classes of living things below us, individual characteristics are illustrated by the exaggerations of class qualities in one or another species of these creatures. That some very striking coincidences

are detected, a mere glance at the engravings of the book will fully prove. The letter-press descriptions largely help out the effect. If Dr. Redfield escapes a challenge to mortal combat, his security will be due to the good humor which he has preserved in his personalities.

Science and Revelation: or, the Bearing of Modern Scientific Developments upon the Interpretation of the First Eleven Chapters of Genesis. By WILLIAM B. HAYDEN. Boston: Otis Clapp. 1852. 16mo. pp. 153.

THIS brief essay is an attempt to apply the Swedenborgian view of a spiritual sense to the removal of those difficulties, real or presumed, which science finds in the literal interpretation of the first part of the Book of Genesis. For ourselves, we cannot but think that these difficulties are made altogether too much of. Considering that the main intent of the writer of those ancient oracles evidently was to impress upon the minds of his readers the conviction that God, the One God, was the Creator of all things, rather than to tell us when or how, or through what secondary processes, the work was wrought out, we are satisfied that he has triumphed in that intent. Considering, too, our ignorance or partial knowledge of the meaning of the most important terms used in the record, the misleading influences of our first associations with them, and the incompetency of our minds to grapple with the whole theme, and then taking into view the fact that science boasts beyond its measure, and has many theories of its own to clear up, we are not so much troubled about the Mosaic record as some persons around us appear to be. We are willing to believe that some incident or contingency utterly unknown to us, and of a sort to make all reasoning based upon established processes now wholly inapplicable to the beginnings of things, may have occurred before we were born. We are not so well satisfied with some of the bolder *dicta* of science as we once were. We have yet to find any account of the beginnings of things that looks more reasonable, on the whole, than that in Genesis. We would by no means imply, however, that the record stands clear of all difficulties to our eyes.

After a very lucid statement of his view of the issue opened between science and the record, Mr. Hayden develops that spiritual or symbolical method of interpreting Scripture by the internal sense which is distinctively ascribed to Swedenborg as the medium by whom it was made known to man. Claiming for this theory the merit of having been announced before the difficulties

which it is now brought to solve were realized, he contrasts it in its application with what he deems unsatisfactory in the application of all other theories. We need scarcely add, that to our minds his theory is the merest fancy, unsupported in its pretensions and utterly puerile in its method.

A Memorial of John W. Foster. Edited by ANDREW P. PEABODY. Portsmouth: James F. Shores, Jr. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 400.

WHATEVER commendation we bestow upon this book is but a tribute of the heart to the beloved and almost venerated subject of it, — we ought perhaps to say, rather, to the author of it; for all but about fifty of its four hundred pages were written by Deacon Foster. The Memoir which covers those fifty pages is, we infer, from his pastor, the editor of the volume. From this it appears that the excellent man whose grave and benignant face expressed such a quiet, gentle, and refined nature, had not always lived amid such calm pursuits as those with which we had associated him in our own minds. In his youth he had mingled in more stirring scenes, in the traffic of bustling cities, and in the anxieties of foreign commerce. He had coursed the ocean in two voyages, in one of which he was in peril of his life, and exhibited traits of heroism. And yet in such scenes he was the same devout and pure-minded man as in the calm usefulness of his manhood, while superintending the Sunday school at Portsmouth; for his journal on the ocean, as well as his life on the land, affords proof that a true Christian consciousness gave the supreme law to his whole responsible existence. Of the ways and means by which he wrought the work of a Christian heart in the community where the greater part of his life was spent, Dr. Peabody gives a most engaging and truthful account in the Memoir. The degree to which he identified himself with those indefinite but most needful works of benevolence which do not so ostensibly present the proofs that they have been performed, as they would painfully obtrude the evidence that they had been neglected in a community, will strike every attentive reader. The editor gives us a selection of Deacon Foster's letters, which are almost exclusively in a religious strain. These are followed by several addresses, principally to Sunday-school teachers and pupils, on the themes which are of paramount interest in that institution. We do most earnestly advise all pastors to see that one or more copies of this book are put into immediate circulation among their Sunday-school teachers. We know of no volume that would do them a better or a more needful service.

Atlantic and Transatlantic: Sketches Afloat and Ashore. By Captain Mackinnon, R. N. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 324.

We have here a striking illustration of the effect which good-nature will have in contributing to the happiness of a traveller, and in putting an attractive hue upon all that he sees. Captain Mackinnon frankly tells his countrymen that the multitude of them are grossly ignorant of the actual social condition of these States, and that when some of the English come hitherwards they behave in such a way as to secure cold or disrespectful treatment from our citizens. He started with a purpose of enjoying himself and improving himself. He made hasty visits to the Atlantic cities, and then revelled in the wild life of the frontiers. If he errs at all, it is in excessive encomiums upon this country, though he does not hesitate to rebuke and censure where he finds occasion.

The Personal Adventures of "Our own Correspondent," in Italy. By Michael Burke Honan. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 428.

Good living was evidently the first aim of this writer, and gossip the next. Whether he had still a third object in view we have not been able to discover, for the two former predominate in his pages. His book, however, describes many entertaining and lively incidents, and the fact that it deals with Italy during the recent stirring times of strife and revolution gives it a zest which will reward perusal.

The Institutes of Algebra. Being the First Part of a Course of Mathematics, designed for the Use of Schools, Academies, and Colleges. By Gerardus Beekman Docharty, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics in the New York Free Academy. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo.

We have said so much on our previous pages concerning text-books, especially by way of objection to the present multiplication of them, that we may spare ourselves any particular criticism upon this volume. The author's aim was to facilitate the work of both teacher and pupil. As far as we have examined his volume, it appears to have accomplished that purpose.

The History of New Ipswich [*N. H.*], *from its First Grant, in* 1736, *to the Present Time: with Genealogical Notices of the principal Families, and also the Proceedings of the Centennial Celebration, Sept.* 11, 1850. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 8vo. pp. 492.

What is called American literature bids fair, in a few years, to show a substantial bulk, however much or little it may exhibit of the graces and the higher wealth of mind. Here is a volume of elegant appearance, and of really solid and instructive contents, devoted to the chronicles of a small country town. But it is from retired scenes behind our mountains, and from the hard soil where men and women are trained to patient toil and virtuous habits, that our sea-board cities have received the enterprising merchants who have extended our commerce over the world. Some very beautiful returns of gratitude have been made by these city merchants to the old country villages where their childhood was nurtured, in the shape of handsome sums of money for the erection and endowment of academies, lyceums, or libraries. The generosity of the Lawrences to the town of Groton, and of Mr. Peabody of London to the town of Danvers, furnishes us with specimens of a kind of philanthropy whose wise purposes and useful tendencies no one will dispute. While we are writing these lines, it is announced that the eminent London banker, Mr. Joshua Bates, has made known his intention to present the sum of fifty thousand dollars to the city of Boston for the uses of the public library. The volume before us records another instance of the same grateful generosity, as exercised by Mr. Samuel Appleton of this city towards his native place. With no help from any early associations or present acquaintanceship with residents in New Ipswich, without having ever seen the place, we have turned over this volume with a real interest in its local scenery and annals, and in its industrious labors, and in the useful and honored men, once its children, some of whom we have known. The work is very elaborately prepared and furnished, evidently at great cost in its mechanical execution. And there is a power in such volumes which the young of each new generation will be sure to feel, exciting them to an honorable desire to be worthy of their ancestry.

Essays: and a Drama in Five Acts. By E. G. Holland, Author of "Reviews and Essays." Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 400.

The subjects of the Essays in this volume are, Nature, American Scenery, The Central Nation, Mystery, Language, Symbolism, Inspiration. The merits of these productions are mental

earnestness and rhetorical fervor, occasionally sustained with power at a good elevation, a philosophical spirit, a poetic taste, a catholic sympathy, a reasonable, natural faith, and marked progressive tendencies in generous and right directions. They evidently come from a reflective, open, aspiring mind. They are certainly adapted to yield much pleasure and profit to that very large class of persons whose experience and culture are below the level of the author's. But there is another class of minds, smaller, it is true, to whom these essays, so far from being precious, will prove in some respects offensive. And this not so much that they disagree with the thoughts and sentiments of the work, as that they vividly feel its faults. Those faults are swarms of turgid sentences, swollen and high-sounding, not upborne by the worth and fulness of their contents; multitudes of crudities in speculation, indigested conceptions gathered partially at second hand, not matured in their substance nor defined in their relations, ideas familiarly floating in the metaphysical and literary air of the time, and brought forward here by our author without any real contribution of his own to their proof, illustration, or application; aphoristic utterances so disconnected and vague as to be barren and useless, no sharp inferences springing from them; numerous paragraphs whose whole form and tone are such as surely never would have been written if Emerson and Bushnell had not gone before, gifted artists as well as men of genius, whose gigantic step and airy flight inferior and imitative persons should beware of attempting to reproduce.

We have the less hesitation in speaking thus plainly, being first impelled thereto by critical justice, because we know that Mr. Holland is a man of nerve, of meditation, of much promise, indeed of rapid progress; a man who, if the critic's spear penetrates his protections, is able, after the instructive example of the wise little animal which divers pluck from the bottom of the sea, to mend his wounds with pearl. Besides, his book is sure of its audience, and it deserves to be.

Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling. By the Author of "Visiting my Relations." London: William Pickering. 16mo. pp. 290.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, and Company are reprinting an anonymous English publication under the above title. When it is put within the reach of our readers we are confident that it will be regarded as a book of mark, one of those rare contributions to the sterling, common-sense, and healthful class of writings which refresh the mind and elevate the spirit. We have perused it with a most vivid interest, and we commend it as worthy of high expectation.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

REDFIELD, of New York, has reprinted, in two very handsome volumes, Mr. John Kenrick's valuable work, entitled "Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs." In noticing the English edition of this work, we spoke in the highest terms of it, and we are glad that it can now be had in a form which brings it within the means of a multitude of readers. We regard it as by far the best book which has been published on the subject. Mr. Kenrick has no theory of his own to support, and in this respect, so favorable to the fairness and fulness of treatment for a perplexed historical theme, he is distinguished above other writers on Egypt. His work will be found to contain precisely the information that is needed by common and even by scholarly readers.

A New History of Boston. — We have seen the first part of a proposed work under the title of "The History and Antiquities of Boston, by Samuel G. Drake." The work is published by Oliver L. Perkins. It is intended that it shall be completed in about sixteen parts, each containing forty-eight pages, in *royal octavo*, and that it shall be illustrated with at least one hundred engravings; the paper, type, and execution being of the very best. The first part gives proof of thoroughness of research and the fulness of information which the author promises shall characterize the work. He begins, not, like Prince, with the beginnings of all things, but with the first voyages of Europeans to the waters which bathe the shores of this peninsula. Making a faithful use of all the facts which painstaking antiquarianism has authenticated, he is not so dry or diffuse as to exceed the patience of any reader who has a heart for the theme. Boston is worthy of a devoted chronicler, and as this work progresses we shall doubtless make frequent mention of it.

Appleton's Popular Library of the Best Authors. — Messrs. Appleton & Co., of New York, continue to issue, at intervals of two or three weeks, their small volumes of some of the most popular new works, in a form and at a price which make them exceedingly attractive. Three new additions to this series are now before us. The Rev. R. A. Willmott's "Summer Time in the Country" might mislead a reader, by its title, into an idea that the proper time for reading it had passed with the summer foliage. But the book is as good, or better, for the winter fireside, for it is composed of a very pleasant miscellany of literary anecdotes and selections, made with taste and invitingly presented. The volume entitled "Stories from 'Blackwood'" contains seven of the best stories which have recently appeared in that famed English Monthly. The last volume issued is certainly most timely. It contains the elaborate biographical articles which the London Times, the lion of journals, presented as its tribute to the two greatest Englishmen of the age, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. The biographies are sufficiently extended to meet the wants of nine readers out of every ten.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln have published six little volumes under the title of "Chambers's Pocket Miscellany," — books to be "taken along with you." If you leave one of them behind you, you lose twenty cents, and whoever finds it has reading of an instructive and pleasant character, for which he will, at least, offer silent thanks to you and to the publishers. The same firm have issued a third volume in the series, by the Rev. Mr. Banvard, illustrative of the Romance of American History: a good title for books for American children, who have given their approbation to the volumes by a glad perusal of them. The present volume deals with the French, Spanish, and English settlements at Fort Carolina, St. Augustine, and Jamestown.

The Messrs. Harper, of New York, having learned what will be most agreeable to at least a hundred thousand purchasers of each number of their Monthly Magazine, continue to make the most strenuous efforts for its improvement and popularity. The amount and quality of the reading matter contained in it furnish an illustration of the diffused intelligence of our age, which would be perfectly astounding to us if we were not so familiar with it. To recommend a magazine which has already found its way over a wider space than any advertisement or praise of it would carry it, would be superfluous.

The same firm have published the twenty-eighth number of Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution: a work of sterling value, most elaborately enriched by delicate wood-engravings.

Mr. John Bartlett, of Cambridge, has published the Address delivered before the Association of the Alumni of Harvard College, on July 22, by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop. We spoke in high terms of this scholarly and eloquent address on the occasion of its delivery. It is worthy of a deliberate perusal, of careful study, and of much afterthought. It sums up much experience of life gathered under rare opportunities for learning true wisdom from a wide intercourse with men. Mr. Winthrop has offered a high model for all who shall follow him in speaking to an association composed of those who, having received the richest means of culture, owe to the community the noblest services in return.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, of Boston, have published, in an elegant pamphlet of seventy-eight pages, the Speech of the Hon. Charles Sumner in the United States Senate, August 26, on his Motion for the Repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill. The pamphlet bears the significant title, "Freedom National, — Slavery Sectional." Ever since the delivery of the speech, the highest encomiums have been deservedly uttered upon its manliness of tone, its exhaustive argument, its thoroughness, ability, and cogency of statement. The vulgar and dastardly remark which was made by one Senator in an outburst of passion, after the speaker had taken his seat, was not the least effective of the testimonies which have been borne to the effect of his words. The time will come when, with more calmness and justice of judgment to weigh truth and true policy against the delusions of falsehood and false policy, the power and the righteousness exhibited in these pages by Mr. Sumner will be gladly acknowledged all over this Union.

An Address before the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, and the Rhode Island Horticultural Society, delivered in Providence, September 17, by George R. Russell, is one of those utterances of sterling common sense and practical wisdom which go to the root of the matters discussed. When we read such a performance, we are always reminded that the education of common life and of large experience adds a vigor to intellectual training that brings out in burdened periods a weight of wisdom which it is alike refreshing and animating to have within our reach.

We have now three exclusively literary papers. The first in the order of years is the New York Literary World, which continues to maintain a high rank in scholarship, vigor, and good taste; the second is Norton's Literary Gazette, which does credit to the printing art; the third is "To-Day," a Boston weekly paper, which has been improving steadily from week to week.

The Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository, for October, is an admirable number of a periodical which for its scholarship and its thoroughness in the discussion of profound themes is a credit to the literature of our country. The charm of this number to us is a Discourse delivered by Professor Park in Andover, June 25, in commemoration of the life and services of Professor B. B. Edwards. For the richest beauty of diction, for completeness of portraiture, and for the expression of the loftiest regard and friendship within the bounds of reason in all mortal relations, we know of no similar tribute which surpasses this. and he was worthy on whom the surviving colleague lavishes this intense eulogy. We knew Professor Edwards only through his works, And they commend him. He was one of those rare men who carry out true religious principle in every relation of life. In part, the tribute here offered to him is like what has been sincerely paid to many, in which the same things have been said, not, however, in so choice a way. But some things are here spoken by Professor Park of his friend which can be truly spoken of only two or three men in any large circle for each generation. One single sentence of the sermon says this of Mr. Edwards: "Were there ten such men as he among our divines, then would the churches have rest" from all jarring and profitless theological strifes. The discourse draws a beautiful sketch of the early life of its subject. It spares us any minute rehearsal of the painful process of his "conversion." Will our Orthodox friends allow us to say, that we regard this as a noteworthy grace in this discourse, and one which may be imitated with profit to the general interests of religion, and with no detriment to the honor of their own peculiar views. After describing a childhood and youth of singular purity, their religious biographies are wont to level all moral distinctions and to confound the meanings of words, by following their subjects through depths of despair over their "vileness" and "enmity to truth," and "hatred of God." One such description answers for all cases, for the processes through which they are wrought are never wholly spontaneous in the heart, but are caught sympathetically from revival influences, as is proved by their sameness. We suppose it would be impossible for any one to be subject to such influences, hearing the experience of those whom they had reached, without aiming to conform his own experience as closely as possible to theirs.

Professor Park delineates the features of his friend, and analyzes his character, and develops his Christian career in language of singular felicity and power. Professor Edwards was a devoted Biblical scholar, a most unwearied and efficient Christian laborer in the fields of literature, education, charity, and common life. His love of Scriptural studies was a passion. His single-heartedness of purpose and his entire Christian consecration impress upon us with renewed force the conviction that the Gospel has introduced to our knowledge elements of greatness which never entered into the loftiest ideals of heathen minds. Mr. Edwards wrote, or carefully edited from the manuscripts of others, forty-three octavo volumes, and these not filled with the lighter essays of even solid literature, but generally with the fruits of elaborate scholarship, or painstaking research. He abounded in the multifarious labors which his brethren, lay and clerical, heap upon their honored and able men. Andover owes him a large debt of love. His own communion should hold his services in precious regard. All Christian scholars should unite in a tribute of grateful respect to him.

In the same number of the Bibliotheca Sacra is an article by Professor Pond of Bangor, which is worthy of a place in the curiosities of literature. Its subject is, "The Character of Infants." It examines and very curtly disposes of all the theories which are least like to that of the writer, and discusses with considerable logical ingenuity those which are similar to his. As to the theory that we, or our souls, pre-existed, were a portion of the angels who revolted, and are rescued for a season from the doom which fell at once upon the chief offenders, that we may share the means of grace in this world, the Professor objects, that "God did not take an old devil and put it into Adam's new-made body," but "*created him.*" So that we are not "old transgressors from another world." His own views are "that the infant has active moral affections from the first, and that these are selfish and sinful." That it also has in it the "element of repentance"; and that it "sets up for itself a moral agent as soon as it is born." "So long as the infant is *incapable* of parental instruction, it may be hoped that the Spirit will do for it, *without* such instruction, what, later in life, it could only be expected to do with it." "But let parents neglect their appropriate work as parents, and trifle with their obligations, and there is little hope either for their children or themselves."

The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, for October, 1852. — This periodical, which is issued quarterly from New Haven, is the organ of the Episcopal denomination, and it enlists a corps of very able writers. We always find something in its pages which interests and instructs us. After becoming familiar with the periodical and other literature of the Church of England, on turning to publications in the interest of the same section of the Christian Church in this country, a reader is very forcibly impressed with the thought of how much Episcopacy owes to its associations, its state patronage, and its *prestige* of dignity and superiority. When looked at without the aid of those adventitious adjuncts, its own essential elements are more fairly appreciated. The periodical before us is seldom offensively sectarian, though we cannot say that it is ever wholly free from that silly arrogance which assumes that "the church of a gentleman" has some peculiar prerogative both in this world and in the next. In the present number

there is a very instructive and well-written article on Science and Religion, which, without attempting to meet or reconcile the controversy that is opened between them, offers a very clear and candid statement of the issue itself. — In an article on New England Theology we have the old story that the creeds and the Apostolical succession are the only safeguards of the Christian faith. But if the writer would only carry his own principle into his own communion, here and in England, he would see its futility. Whence came heresy first? Where does it come from now? Not only are the fences of the *Church* broken down by those who are in the inclosure, but the fences themselves never included half of those who belong to the fold. Bishop Doane asserted, in an after-dinner speech, on occasion of the dedication of a church in Leeds, England, that the churches of Massachusetts declined into Unitarianism because they had not the safeguard of a liturgy. And yet the very first church in America which declared for Unitarianism was the first Episcopal Church in Boston. In spite of a liturgy, *heresy* came in. — We were highly pleased with an article in this Review on John Sterling, the aim of which is to show that Archdeacon Hare has, after all, made a truer portrait of Sterling than has Carlyle. We think so too. — A very interesting article, in the form of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Butler of Washington, treats of the Life and Character of Henry Clay. The especial design of the writer is to exhibit fairly the position of that eminent statesman in a religious point of view. It is easy to conceive that so delicate a theme might have been treated most offensively. But Dr. Butler has dealt with it in a most dignified and becoming way. He plainly affirms that, while Mr. Clay was never sceptical, and always was affected by the sentiment of religion, he had not any distinctive religious principle as a law of conduct and a ground of Christian hope till near the close of his life. Ambition and worldly regard preoccupied the more powerful interest of his mind. It appears from the Letter that the clergymen who successively stood in the relations of pastor to Mr. Clay, and who, in visiting him at his home on occasions of affliction, were brought near to him in sacred offices, were very faithful in endeavoring to discharge towards him their responsible office. They did not fail to rebuke in him habits and behavior inconsistent with a religious character, as well before as after he had made a Christian profession. There is a very touching and beautiful acknowledgment from this great man, that the religious character of his wife exercised a constant influence over him. Though they had many sorrows, he confessed that he was more deeply impressed by the manner in which his wife bore them than by the afflictions themselves. Dr. Butler, with great modesty, relates the method of his faithful pastoral intercourse with Mr. Clay, before and during his long confinement to the sick-chamber. We may well pardon the earnestness of the pastor to connect all the religious convictions and hopes of the sufferer with those distinctive opinions which in his view are essential to the religious character. But it is evident to us, even from the statements of the Letter, that all the penitence and purification, and all the work of patience, peace, and faith, which were wrought in Mr. Clay, were the result of those large Gospel truths and influences which are the common materials of sanctification to all professed Christians.

Books and Bookselling. — The agitation of the International Copyright question has had one good effect, that of calling the attention of English publishers to the extent and importance of the American market. They begin to see that they can furnish editions of their principal publications to the trade on this side at prices which, while they enable the joint publisher here to sell them at comparatively low rates, give to them a profit quite equal to the advantage of any copyright they could get in the shape they contend for. At the same time the purchaser here gets a better manufactured book than he would if the English edition were excluded, as it formerly was, by its high price, from the shelves of our booksellers.

The book-market in the United States is increasing in a ratio altogether greater than either readers or booksellers seem to be aware of; and its effect on that of England is very sensibly felt. Already the expensive editions of the English classical authors, republished in the early part of this century, have become very scarce, and consequently dear, from the constant demand made for them by public libraries and individual collectors here. We allude to such works as the fine editions of Dryden and Swift, edited by Scott; the Somers Collection of Tracts, and other collections edited and partly published by the same indefatigable scholar; The Chronicles, in 32 vols. 4to (Holinshed, Froissart, Monstrelet, &c.); Malone's Shakspeare; the editions of the earlier poets in octavo; the leading Reviews, &c., &c.; — generally works of so considerable extent and cost as not to be likely to be republished during the present century, if ever.

Our market for educational works and books for general readers has increased in a still greater proportion, but in this city the enterprise of the booksellers has not kept pace with it. They have suffered the manufacture of books of these classes to be taken from them by more active competitors in the Southern cities, or have allowed importers to supply from abroad what might have been produced in a satisfactory manner at home. The bookselling branch of mercantile business has not had its share of attention amongst us. Capital, which crowds itself into other pursuits beyond the demand, seems to shun the book-trade, as a calling either disreputable or disastrous. We shall not now attempt to trace the reasons of this state of things, though it would not be difficult. We are assured, on what we consider the best authority, that a million of dollars could now be invested in that trade in this city, to the benefit alike of the capitalist, the booksellers, and the public. Twice that sum would probably be required to put Boston in the same comparative position with regard to Philadelphia and New York which it held thirty-five years ago.

We are glad to see that one house here, — that of Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., — not only by bringing out good editions of original works, but by publishing jointly with English houses some of the best English authors, is making a vigorous effort to reëstablish the reputation of our city as the best book-market of the country. During the present season this house has engaged in the joint publication of the Encyclopædia Britannica, in 21 vols. 4to, now nearly ready; the works of Jeremy Taylor, in 10 vols., 8vo; Lord John Russell's Life and Letters of Thomas Moore, in 8 vols. crown 8vo; The Aldine Poets, in 53 vols.; Boswell's Johnson, royal 8vo; a new and superb edition of Shakspeare, to be printed by Whittingham, in 10 vols., 8vo; also a

16mo edition of the same author, in 10 vols., from the press of the same eminent printer; Forster's Life of Goldsmith, illustrated; the only uniform edition of Milton's whole Works, in 8 vols., 8vo; a new and very elegant edition of Scott's Novels and Romances, in 24 vols., 8vo; The National Encyclopædia, in 12 vols., 8vo, being a revised edition of the Penny Cyclopædia; Sir Charles Lyell's Geological Works; Smith's Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Biography, Antiquities, and Geography, 5 vols., royal 8vo; Grote's Greece, in 10 vols.; Millman's Gibbon, 6 vols., 8vo; Hallam's Historical Works, 7 vols., 8vo; the new editions of Loudon's Botanical and Horticultural Works; Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance to Shakspeare, of which work 1,000 copies have been ordered within six months; Merivale's Rome (3 vols. ready); Niebuhr's Historical Works, 6 vols., 8vo; with many other works which we cannot stop to name. More than 70,000 volumes of the works enumerated above have been thus jointly published. This list does not include many large works in the Law, an enumeration of which would not be interesting to the general reader. All of these books will be, or have already been, offered to the purchaser here at prices far below the London ones, and lower than they could be produced here if we were obliged to print editions solely for our own market. The same booksellers and publishers are in the receipt, or shortly will be, of 15,000 to 20,000 volumes, selected with care by one of the partners from the great storehouses of fine books in London and Paris. Perhaps so fine a collection has never before been offered in the United States to the lover of good books. The works themselves are generally of the greatest intrinsic value, and the best editions have been sought out, dressed in bindings worthy of the authors, or at any rate corresponding with the efforts of the printer.

This whole matter of joint publication is one of great interest, both to the trade and to the reading public. It connects itself intimately with the great question of international copyright, — a question of so much moment, and so many bearings, that we hope for an opportunity to give it an early and ample discussion in this journal.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Unitarian Convention in Maine. — A meeting was held in Portland, Me., on September 21st, which promises to result in most effective services to the cause of Liberal Christianity in that region. Fifteen of the Unitarian churches in that State were represented by pastor and delegate. The interest and action of laymen were so prominent in the convention, as to give to it something beyond a merely ministerial character. Measures were taken to organize all the churches of our communion in Maine, who are willing so to unite, into an Association, the objects of which are to be mutual conference, illumination, and strength, a deepening of religious sympathies, and concert of opinion and action in measures to advance the interests of humanity and piety through the influences of a pure, living, and evangelical faith. The Association is to meet annually, when reports are to be made by committees, who are to work laboriously during the interval, on the subjects and interests respectively assigned to them. These committees are composed each of

four members, two ministers and two laymen. The various business and subjects are distributed among them under the following heads: — Churches, Sunday Schools, Publications, Missions, Church Art, Charity, and Reform. The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Association: — Hon. Wm. G. Crosby of Belfast, President; Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, J. H. Williams, Esq. of Augusta, and Hon. Charles S. Daveis of Portland, Vice-Presidents; Rev. M. W. Willis of Bath, Secretary; E. Fenno, Esq. of Augusta, Treasurer; Rev. J. H. Allen of Bangor, Rev. S. Judd of Augusta, Rev. R. P. Cutler of Portland, Daniel Kilby, Esq. of Eastport, and J. C. Noyes, Esq. of Portland, Executive Committee.

Installations. — The installation of Rev. J. K. WAITE, as Pastor of the Unitarian Society at FALL RIVER, took place on Wednesday, September 15. The Introductory Prayer and Address to the Pastor and People, by the Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; Sermon and Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop of Boston; Prayer of Installation, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. This Society, after suffering much from debt, fire, and a frequent change of pastors, has now the promise of brighter days, and receives a new minister under many encouraging prospects.

The Rev. G. T. HILL, late of Hubbardston, was installed as Pastor of the Unitarian Society at WARE, on Wednesday, September 22. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. E. G. Adams of Templeton; Selections from Scripture, by the Rev. J. J. Putnam of Petersham; Sermon, by the Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester; Prayer of Installation and Charge, by the Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre; Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. E. Nute of Chicopee; Address to the Society, by the Rev. S. Ball of Upton; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Charles E. Hodges of Barre.

Ordinations. — Mr. THOMAS H. PONS was ordained as Pastor of the First Church and Society in SHARON, on Wednesday, September 22. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. J. Merrick of Walpole; Selections from Scripture, by the Rev. J. T. Sargent of Boston; Sermon, by the Rev. Prof. Francis, of Harvard University; Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. A. B. Muzzey of Cambridge; Charge, by the Rev. J. Pierpont of Medford; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. W. G. Babcock of Lunenburg; Address to the People, by the Rev. F. T. Gray of Boston; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. W. A. Whitwell of Easton.

Mr. THOMAS D. HOWARD was ordained as Pastor of a Church in PERRY, Maine, on Wednesday, September 29. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Bryant of Eastport; Sermon and Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln; Charge and Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. T. S. Lathrop of Calais; Address to the Society and Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. H. F. Edes of Eastport.

Mr. GEORGE G. CHANNING was ordained as an Evangelist, in the Rev. Mr. Pike's church, DORCHESTER, on Sunday, October 3. After introductory services by the Rev. Mr Pike, the candidate himself delivered the Sermon; the Rev. Dr. Lothrop offered the Ordaining Prayer; the Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton gave the Charge and the Fellowship of the Churches, and the services were closed by the Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge of Boston.

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